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Officials Comment on Upcoming Talks in Vienna

Gerasimov Hopeful

LD0503190589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1500 GMT 5 Mar 89

[From the "International Panorama" program presented by Gennadiy Gerasimov]

[Text] Good evening. The spring that is on the doorstep—and sometimes spring seems to have already set in—looks like a spring of great and, hopefully, justified expectations in international life. The foreign ministers of the 35 CSCE member countries are meeting in Vienna on Monday, and talks are to start on Thursday. Sixteen NATO member countries are on one side, and 7 Warsaw Pact member countries are on the other side. They will be trying to reduce the level of military confrontation and increase the level of confidence. So, it is neither 16 against 7 nor a fight to determine the strongest, but the 23 joining efforts to deliver Europe from the hard and perilous burden of superarmaments. Of course, the two military blocs will remain, but their mutual relations are cardinally changing or should be cardinally changed.

One could draw the following parallel. Earlier, a chess game for the sake of a checkmate or victory was played, and military construction was geared to that purpose. Specifically, on our side, there was a keenness on tanks, landing and crossing means, and other military equipment implying an assault, and the West interpreted it that way. On its side, the West built its defense on the so-called front lines, something that we, in our turn, interpreted as a proof of aggressive intentions. That was what the disposition of pieces on an imaginary chessboard looked like.

But now the sides wish to alter the rules of the game and to carry out an exchange of pieces, so to speak, with the purpose of achieving a stalemate when, figuratively speaking, neither the white nor the black have an offensive potential and when both will limit themselves to, and be satisfied with, defense sufficiency. The Soviet Union and our Warsaw Pact allies have even given NATO a sort of odds and have opted for a unilateral reduction of armed forces and armaments and will transfer troops to a new organizational structure of unequivocal defensive nature.

Although that step was unilateral, it objectively presents the West with a need for any response. And we read a lot in newspapers about controversy around the so-called modernization of short-range nuclear arms, in other words, of those that have been permitted so far. We also read that "modernization" is a smokescreen which lures one into comfortable delusion, and in fact, the United States of America is developing [sozdayet] a new generation of short-range nuclear systems, as the saying goes. Incidentally, the range is not quite short, being up to 500 km. NATO member countries failed to work out a single stand on that, despite the efforts of James Baker, new U.S. secretary of state, to reduce all to the U.S. common denominator; he toured all NATO member countries from Iceland to Luxembourg. FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, last week came out for immediately starting talks on limiting short-range nuclear systems. He said that there were no sensible reasons for not starting such talks.

On the West's insistence, these systems have been excluded from the mandate of the talks that are opening in Vienna, as I have said. But even without them, difficulties may arise at the talks. The talks on armed forces and armaments in Central Europe have been marking time and drowning in a flow of figures representing initial data on who has what and who can be trusted and to what degree, for 15 years in the same place, Vienna. This time the sides have published their calculations, but to avoid repeating mistakes it is better to start right away with a level of reductions and agree on the required verification [kontrol].

As Genscher said, what we need are not obstacles to new talks on disarmament but obstacles to the unrestrained arms race. Not technical details, such as exchanging tanks for fighters or pontoons for shelling installations [zalpovyye ustanovki], but a conceptual and philosophical approach will be the main factor determining the fate of the Vienna talks. Will it be confrontation and a striving to outwit each other, or an invitation to an honest mutual search for ways towards discarding the oppressive, self-restricting and crippling armor, and a transition from suspicion and mistrust to the civilized standards of human community?

Kashlev Looks To Future

LD0503105189 Moscow TASS in English 1031 GMT 5 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 5 TASS—A three-day meeting of the foreign ministers of European states, the USA and Canada will open at Vienna's Hofburg Palace on March 6. It will be followed by talks on confidence-building measures and security in Europe by all 35 countries participating in the European process and then talks on conventional armaments and armed forces from the Atlantic to the Urals by 23 states forming the Warsaw Treaty and NATO.

This is how a followup programme agreed upon in the final document of the Vienna meeting starts operating. It provided for holding over 10 major fora, conferences and talks during 1989-1991, Yuriy Kashlev writes in PRAVDA on Sunday, mentioning some other European meetings.

Noting the success of the Vienna forum, the author puts the following question: "How will Europe use emerging favourable opportunities and how will the common agenda for the next few years (agreed in Vienna) be realised?"

"The reply depends at least on two factors. Firstly, the degree of responsibility with which the 35 states will approach the programme of European cooperation, which was worked out by them. Secondly, how consistently each of them will realise the Vienna understandings, and not only in their relations with other countries but also at home with respect to millions of citizens."

The schedule of the following talks provided for in Vienna in conjunction with new obligations of states, recorded in the final document, creates the framework and the basis for raising the Helsinki process to a qualitatively new level on all "the three baskets" — military-political questions, trade and economic questions and ecological and humanitarian issues, points out the article.

Analysing in detail the results of the Vienna meeting, Kashlev notes the following:

"In the military sphere, the unique combination of opening talks on conventional weapons and troops and on confidence measures provides a chance to advance towards reliable security in Europe on a large scale, coupling limitations and reductions with greater openness of military activities under strict control. It is especially important at the talks of 23 states to overcome difficulties of verbal battles on central Europe, which lasted for 15 years and to select a realistic and dynamic model which would enable conferees to reach in the near future top priority tasks set out in the mandate: to bring down the level of military confrontation in Europe through appropriate reductions, mutual elimination of disbalances and asymmetries and potential for a surprise attack."

"The Soviet Union and other Warsaw Treaty countries have already convincingly shown their serious intentions by declaring large unilateral cuts in armed forces, armaments and military budgets and by publishing data on the correlation of Warsaw Treaty and NATO forces in Europe and adjacent seas. They also made public specific programmes adopted in 1988 by the Warsaw meeting of the Political Consultative Committee and the Budapest meeting of the Foreign Ministers Committee. The Warsaw Treaty countries propose that the talks of the 23 and 35 states should be based on these programmes. Regrettably, the general direction of these talks is hampered, for the time being, by unreadiness of NATO countries to display reciprocity in response to major unilateral steps by the socialist states, calls in those countries (incidentally not only calls but also practical measures) for compensation and for modernisation of conventional weapons, unwillingness of NATO countries to start talks on tactical nuclear weapons as soon as possible and to spread reduction and confidence measures to the operations of navies, notes Kashlev.

Karpov Seeks Third 'Nuclear Zero'

LD0503215889 Moscow TASS in English 2139 GMT 5 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 6 TASS—"We expect a serious and constructive discourse at Vienna. It is high time we switch over from words to deeds, from fruitless debates on initial data to discussions which could lead to real reductions in the armaments and armed forces in Europe," Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Viktor Karpov said on Sunday before departure for the talks between twenty-three Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries on the reduction of conventional armed forces and armaments in Europe.

It took many years to draft a mandate of these talks, the Soviet expert told TASS diplomatic correspondent Vadim Biryukov. "It is now important to avoid discussions on the initial figures and go directly to real talks on how much and what specifically should be reduced. I see in this today's main goal," he continued.

The Warsaw Treaty countries proceed from the need for real reductions of the armed forces and armaments. As for the Western countries, they will reportedly advance a programme refusing to cut troops and talk only about reducing some types of armaments—tanks and armoured personnel carriers.

"Our position," Viktor Karpov said, "is that we should consider the possibilities of cutting both the armed forces and armaments, including tactical aviation which is one of the most important means of supporting offensives.

The Soviet side prepared itself for the Vienna talks not only through the efforts of diplomats but also by setting specific examples of cutting troops, as well as other offensive weapons, such as tanks and planes.

"Most important, however, is that we are undertaking concrete steps to transfer the armed forces to defensive structure," Viktor Karpov said. "The Soviet Union withdraws from the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia and Hungary not just six tank divisions, which will usually amount to roughly 1,800 tanks, but a considerably greater number of most advanced tanks—5,300. Where will they come from? From the reduction of tanks in other Soviet units remaining in these countries. This is a real example of changing over to the defensive structure."

For several years now the Soviet Union has sought an agreement with the West on elimination of all tactical nuclear weapons in Europe.

"Now that the talks on conventional armed forces and armaments start in Vienna, I can only confirm that we are prepared along with the Vienna talks agenda to discuss the tactical nuclear weapons," the Soviet diplomat said. As is known nuclear weapons are not covered by the Vienna talks mandate, which deals only with dual-capable weapons—artillery and aviation—which can carry both conventional and nuclear charges.

"It is hard to completely rule out the possibility of a surprise attack in Europe unless all nuclear weapons are removed from the continent," the Soviet deputy foreign minister said. "A third 'nuclear zero' for Europe is our recipe of genuine security."

Shevardnadze Notes 'Satisfaction'

LD0403105189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0905 GMT 4 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, 4 Mar (TASS)—On the eve of the opening of talks in Vienna on March 6 by the foreign ministers of the European countries, the United States, and Canada on the reduction of conventional armed forces and armaments in Europe, as well as on confidence-building measures from the Atlantic to the Urals, TASS diplomatic correspondent Vadim Biryukov put some questions to Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, USSR foreign minister, to which he gave the following replies:

Question: What are your feelings as you depart for Vienna, and what are you expecting from the talks that are about to begin?

Answer: First of all, you have a feeling of profound satisfaction. After all, the Soviet Union and the participant-states of the Warsaw Pact have long striven for these talks to begin and have done much to make them a reality. Such a result could scarcely have been achieved were it not for the favorable changes in the all-European climate directly linked to our restructuring and to the influence of the new political thinking.

I do not, however, want to imply that the Vienna talks were the results of our efforts alone. They are the fruit of a growing mutual understanding between all participants of the all-European process. And I would single out for special mention in this regard the contribution of the neutral and nonaligned states.

A dynamic kickoff for the Vienna talks should be promoted by the large-scale unilateral reductions of Soviet armed forces and armaments announced by M.S. Gorbachev in his speech at the UN General Assembly and by similar steps taken by our allies in the Warsaw Pact.

We pin high hopes on the talks that are about to start. It is quite realistic to perform the immediate tasks facing the talks within a reasonable space of time—alleviating for the participant-countries the burden of the most costly armaments that are termed conventional and taking security and confidence on the continent of Europe to a qualitatively new level. All in all, this means providing a reliable foundation for the all-European home that is in the process of erection.

We are also expecting the Vienna talks to play the role of catalyst in the general process of disarmament—both in those areas where work has been going on for a long time already, and in directions which are still to be drawn into this process—I mean, for example, tactical nuclear resources, naval forces.

In a word, we consider the Vienna talks to be an essential, new, positive element in world affairs.

Question: It is known that you are to have a meeting with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker. What significance does the Soviet side attribute to this meeting?

Answer: Indeed, among the meetings with various foreign ministers in Vienna, a conversation with J. Baker will also take place. The U.S. side is describing it as "familiarizing." Well, we are ready to agree with this approach. The first step is the hardest as the saying goes. We valued highly the good, businesslike contacts which were established between ourselves and the former U.S. secretary of state, George Shultz. We hope that a common language will be found with the new secretary of state too. After all, we are committed to this based on our position as leaders of corresponding diplomatic departments and, what is even more important, on that common understanding about the mutual intention to continue the development of Soviet-U.S. relations which was reached by M.S. Gorbachev and George Bush at their meeting in New York in December 1988 and in the course of a conversation between them on 23 January 1989.

We do not have any firm agenda for the meeting with J. Baker. The widest range of questions of interest to both sides can be discussed. I intend, in particular, to share my impressions about my tour of the Middle East with the U.S. secretary of state. There is great scope for cooperation betwen the USSR and the United States as well as among the permanent members of the UN Security Council, on the problem of a Middle Eastern settlement as on many other questions.

Foreign Ministers' Talks Begin in Vienna 6 Mar

Shevardnadze Departs for Talks

LD0503174989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 5 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, 5 Mar (TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs, left for Vienna today to take part in the opening ceremony of the talks on conventional armed forces and confidence-building and security measures in Europe.

At the airport he was seen off by Comrade Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moscow

Gorkom; and other officials. Those seeeing him off included Grubmayr, the ambassador of the Republic of Austria to the Soviet Union.

Arrives in Vienna

LD0503174889 Moscow TASS in English 1732 GMT 5 Mar 89

[Text] Vienna March 5 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and Soviet foreign minister, arrived in Vienna on Sunday. He will take part in a meeting of foreign ministers of European countries, the USA and Canada in the Austrian capital on Monday, which will open the conventional forces in Europe talks and the negotiations on confidence and security building measures.

At Schwechat Airport in Vienna, Eduard Shevardnadze was met by Alois Mock, Austria's vice chancellor and foreign minister, and other officials.

The welcoming party also included Soviet Ambassador to Austria Gennadiy Shikin.

Says Talks 'Unprecedented'

LD0503210289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 5 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report from Vienna by special correspondents G. Zubkov, D. Serebryakov, and V. Durandin]

[Text] [Begin recording] [Zubkov] The Viennese airport of Schwechat. Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze arrived in Austria today. [video shows Shevardnadze coming down aircraft steps; camera then cuts to bus standing ready to take the passengers, and then to Shevardnadze standing in the moving bus, holding on to a pillar with his left hand and talking into a microphone held by Zubkov]

[Shevardnadze] [words indistinct] that tomorrow we will become participants, witnesses of a great historic event. Talks are beginning, real talks on a real reduction in conventional armaments, on confidence-building measures in Europe. This is indeed an unprecedented phenomenon both in the life of Europe and in world political life. There are real chances of achieving major successes, major progress in overcoming military confrontation in Europe. And this will mean a new condition in Europe. In doing this one can lay the foundation for a common European home, about which we are now talking a great deal.

[Zubkov] Thank you. I wish you success.

[Shevardnadze] You are welcome.

[Zubkov] Tomorrow in the Hofburg Palace is the start of the joint 3-day ceremony of the opening of talks on confidence- and security-building measures and of talks on conventional armed forces in Europe. Addresses by representatives of all 35 countries are envisaged. Our minister, Comrade Shevardnadze, will be one of the first to speak. [end recording]

Confers With Austria's Mock

LD0503192389 Moscow TASS in English 1916 GMT 5 Mar 89

[Text] Vienna March 5 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze met here on Sunday his Austrian counterpart Alois Mock to discuss international issues of mutual interest and matters pertaining to a meeting of foreign ministers from states involved in the common European process in Vienna, which opens on Monday.

The conversation passed in a friendly atmosphere.

Meets Hungarian Minister Varkonyi

LD0503235189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2210 GMT 5 Mar 89

[Text] Vienna, 6 Mar (TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze, CPSU CC Politburo member and USSR foreign minister met here with Peter Varkonyi, foreign minister of the Hungarian People's Republic. In a businesslike, comradely atmosphere, questions connected with the talks starting in Vienna on conventional armed forces in Europe and the talks on measures for building confidence and security were discussed. It was stressed that the USSR and Hungary, optimistically assessing the prospects of these forums, were ready to make every effort so that specific results might be achieved, which might promote a reduction of military confrontation and a strengthening of security on the European Continent.

Shevardnadze informed Varkonyi on the state of Soviet-U.S. relations, noting the existence of favorable prerequisites for their further improvement.

The ministers also discussed topical problems of a Near East settlement.

Foreign Ministers' Talks Begin

LD0603105589 Moscow TASS in English 1043 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Vienna March 6 TASS—The Hofburg Palace in downtown Vienna today became one of major centres of international efforts towards laying a reliable foundation for an all-European home: A three-day meeting of the foreign ministers of 33 European countries as well as the United States and Canada has begun here to usher in talks on conventional armed forces in Europe and negotiations on confidence- and security-building measures. The Soviet Union is represented at the meeting by Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

One of the central aims of the talks is to work out a balanced agreement on a substantial cut in the armed forces and conventional arms of NATO and Warsaw Treaty member-states. The point is to establish such a balance of military potential in Europe under which the two military and political alliances will retain forces and systems necessary only for defence.

Local political circles express the view that the Vienna talks will be held under a lucky star. Such optimism is associated first of all with the Soviet Union's 'peace drive,' with the USSR's and other Warsaw Treaty countries' large-scale initiatives concerning cuts in military arsenals.

Austria's Mock on Vienna Talks Chances of Success
LD0503151989 Moscow TASS in English 1447 GMT 5 Mar 89

[Text] Vienna March 5 TASS—The Austrian capital is waiting for an outstanding event. A meeting of foreign ministers from 33 European countries as well as from the USA and Canada will open at Vienna's Hofburg Palace on Monday. It will initiate talks on conventional armed forces in Europe and talks on confidence-building measures and security.

Great hopes and expectations are pinned on these talks. Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock said in an interview with TASS correspondent Vladimir Smelov that a thaw in the international situation, the Soviet-American INF Treaty and Moscow peace proposals created appropriate conditions for a success of the present fora. Processes of democratisation, glasnost and reforms, now under way in the USSR, exert great influence on the atmosphere of the talks. As for the talks themselves, the very fact of their holding is a graphic confirmation of the 35 states' desire to make qualitatively new moves along the road of disarmament and international detente. At the same time the road to the ideal—to a world, free of weapons, is long enough. Therefore, Austria backs the Soviet proposals on holding a European summit to make the talks more dynamic, he noted.

In an interview with the newspaper DIE PRESSE, Stephen Ledogar, head of the U.S. delegation at the talks on conventional armed forces in Europe, called as positive and encouraging factors the Soviet publication of comparative data on the numerical strength of armed forces and armaments of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries, statements by the USSR and other Warsaw Treaty states on unilateral cuts in armaments. In his words, all this is conducive to the start of the Vienna fora. The USA, he said, will look at them for solutions and will seek to establish such upper limits of armaments which are much lower than the present level of military potentials in the East and the West.

The Vienna public is waiting with great interest for a speech by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze. Vienna citizens are also waiting for his meeting with U.S. State Secretary James Baker, which, as the press notes, may promote the strengthening of mutual understanding between the two great powers.

Appraising optimistically prospects for the Vienna talks, local political analysts note that not everything will be smooth at them. There are forces in the West which seek to prevent the further development of the European peace process. Let us hope that wisdom and goodwill will take the upper hand. If everything goes well, the Vienna-based newspaper KURIER writes in this connection, this may result in such a system of European security, which is based not on a "deterrent" but on the principles of voluntary renunciation of all means giving a chance of waging a war.

Inspectors Conclude Visit to Bavarian Pershing Base
LD0303181589 Moscow TASS in English 1806 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Bonn March 3 TASS—A group of Soviet inspectors conducted an inspection of an American intermediate-range nuclear missile base in Neuulm, Bavaria, on March 1-3 in keeping with the Soviet-American INF Treaty.

According to an act of inspection, signed here today, the number of Pershing-2 missiles at the base in West Germany corresponded to what had been stated.

The Soviet inspectors left for home today.

'Prospects for Real Advance' in CW Talks Noted
LD0303183689 Moscow TASS in English 1824 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 3 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Bogachev:

The conference on disarmament in Geneva has of late achieved prospects for real advance toward the main goal of this forum—the conclusion of the work to draft a convention on a complete ban on chemical weapons and elimination of their stockpiles.

The Soviet Union announced its decision to start unilaterally the elimination of chemical weapons stockpiles even before the convention is concluded. The number of states held national experiments to determine the efficiency of procedures for the verification of the observance of the future agreement, while Hungary, Sweden and Italy have already referred to the conference their reports with appropriate conclusions. A trial inspection at a chemical enterprise was made in the Soviet Union. Measuring equipment was tested. Procedures for inspecting production facilities, places for the storage of source material and finished products, laboratories, etc., were being developed. Soviet experts prepare to start the operation of a unit for the destruction of chemical weapons in the city of Chapayevsk.

The talks in Geneva have thus entered a decisive stage when work to formulate the text of the convention on a comprehensive ban on chemical weapons is conducted alongside the preparation for the convention's coming into effect.

Addressing the conference on disarmament on Thursday, FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher noted that the transition from confrontation to cooperation between the East and West creates the unprecedented conditions for a successful solution to most complex international problems, including problems on banning chemical weapons. Italy's Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti urged the participants in the convention not to lose a historic chance and to do everything possible so that this year becomes the decisive year for the working out of the convention on chemical weapons.

There exist real prerequisites for the signing of the convention on chemical weapons this year. But in order to achieve this, the participants in the talks should overcome objective difficulties connected, specifically, with the complexity of verifying the observance of the agreement. What is even more important, all the sides should show goodwill, look for mutually acceptable solutions and should not strive for unilateral advantages, say, prevention of control of their own chemical weapons under the pretext of the observance of commercial secrets.

The Soviet Union declares for the most far-reaching measures of verification of the observance of the convention including obligatory on-sight inspections without a right to refuse from them. But the verification should be conducted on equal terms for all parties.

Soon after the USSR's decision on unilateral elimination of its warfare toxic agents, it was announced in Washington that the U.S. land forces intend to produce over one million units of binary ammunition valued at some three bilion dollars within the next ten years.

So the U.S. delegation in Paris supported the call for concluding the working out of a convention banning chemical weapons within a short period of time, while the Pentagon is planning a race of chemical weapons for a period until the end of the current century. How can these two facts go together?

'Scaffolding' of 'European Home' Being Erected

PM0503174589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
4 Mar 89 First Edition p 4

[Yu. Kashlev article: "Agenda for Europe"]

[Text] A 3-day meeting of foreign ministers from the European states, the United States, and Canada opens in Vienna's Hofburg Palace 6 March and immediately after it—9 March—talks on confidence- and security-building measures in Europe involving all 35 countries party to the all-European process and talks on conventional armed forces and armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals involving the 23 Warsaw Pact and NATO states open in the same place.

An all-European information forum—the first event of its kind in the continent's history—begins work in London 18 April.

The first stage of a three-part conference on the human dimension of the all-European process opens in Paris 30 May (the subsequent stages will be held in Copenhagen and Moscow).

An all-European conference on environmental protection opens in Sofia in the fall.

Thus the program of "next steps," which includes the holding in 1989-1991 of more than a do. n major forums, conferences, and talks and was agreed in the Vienna meeting's final document, is beginning. This structure is like scaffolding erected so that a gradual transition can be made to building the "common European home," an idea put forward by our country which is gradually gaining acceptance abroad too. The Vienna meeting, M.S. Gorbachev said, raises the European process to a level where the initial outlines of this home can be discerned.

One factor which played a decisive role in the success of the Vienna meeting must be mentioned straight away. These were actually the first major multilateral talks where our foreign policy line was conducted according to the "model" laid down by the 27th CPSU Congress, which envisages comprehensive progress toward universal security and cooperation, that is, simultaneous progress in all the main parameters of international relations.

There is another point here. The Vienna forum's success would surely have been impossible had the USSR's fresh approaches to international affairs stemming from the new political thinking not been combined or not even been based on the essentially revolutionary transformations in our country— restructuring, democratization, and glasnost. This point was made directly by the foreign ministers of Austria, the FRG, Britain, the United States, Norway, and other countries during the closure of the meeting.

How is Europe making use of the favorable opportunities which have presented themselves and how will the collective agenda agreed in Vienna for the next few years be implemented? The answer depends on at least two factors. First, on the sense of responsibility with which the 35 states embark on the program of all-European cooperation which they themselves elaborated. And second, on how consistently each of them implements the Vienna accords not only in its external relations with other countries but also at home, with regard to its own millions of citizens.

The plan of subsequent talks envisaged in Vienna together with the new commitments of the states enshrined in the final document creates the framework and basis for the Helsinki progress to reach a qualitatively new level in all its "three baskets"—military-political; trade, economic, and environmental; and humanitarian.

In the military sphere, the unique interlinking of the talks on conventional forces and armaments and on confidence-building measures which are about to begin provides an opportunity for progress toward lasting security on the continent on a broader front, combining limitations and reductions with a greater openness of military activity under strict control. At the 23-state talks it is particularly important to avoid the excesses of the 15-year verbal battles on central Europe and to choose a realistic and dynamic model making it possible to achieve the paramount goals set in the mandate—the lowering of the level of military confrontation in Europe via corresponding reductions and mutual elimination of imbalances and asymmetries and potentials for surprise attack—in the very near future.

The Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact countries have already convincingly demonstrated the seriousness of their intentions by announcing major unilateral reductions of armed forces, armaments, and military budgets and publishing statistics on the correlation of Warsaw Pact and NATO forces in Europe and adjoining waters. They have also published the concrete programs adopted at the Political Consultative Committee conference in Warsaw and the Foreign Ministers Committee session in Budapest in 1988, which they propose using as the basis of the 23- and 35-state talks. The general thrust of these talks, unfortunately, is still contradicted by the unreadiness of the NATO countries to reciprocate in response to the socialist states' large-scale unilateral moves and the appeals made in those countries (and not only appeals but also actual measures already being taken) for compensation and the modernization of their conventional armaments; and by the unwillingness of NATO countries to begin talks on tactical nuclear weapons as soon as possible and to extend the reduction and confidence-building measures to naval activity too.

There is much to be done on questions in the "second basket." Many dozens of specific areas and forms of cooperation from which all the sides can directly benefit

have been outlined here. They include joint ventures; the more flexible use of barter deals; a provision on the development of marketing and arbitration; cooperation in the rational use of natural resources and alternative sources of energy, including thermonuclear fusion; collaboration in medicine, including the struggle against the spread of AIDS and drug addiction; measures to protect the ozone layer; and much, much else. The task is to use the collective character of all these accords to establish and expand cooperation not only on a bilateral level but also on an all-European level, and to pool the efforts of all the participants in the Helsinki process.

The collective commitment adopted in Vienna by all the states to help reduce and eliminate "all obstacles to the development of trade" must be incorporated into practical steps by the West to remove the discrimination and restrictions against the socialist countries, the activity of COCOM [Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls], the repeal of the notorious Jackson-Vanik amendment in the United States, and so forth.

The Vienna meeting also marked a real breakthrough toward a new quality in another area—the humanitarian and legal sphere. For the first time it proved possible to switch this problem to the realm of cooperation. The list of questions from the sphere of human rights, contacts between people, culture, education, and information which are the subject of legitimate examination within the all-European process was considerably expanded.

The key place in the final document is taken by the accord which confirms the sovereign rights of states to choose their own social and political system but obliges them to bring their legislation and practice into complete accord with international commitments.

Another crucial agreement was that Vienna recognized in fact the universal character of the problem of human rights and humanitarian cooperation, universal in the sense that it is not a problem facing East or West alone but a general problem needing the same attention and solution everywhere. In this respect attention should be focused not on individual categories of citizens' rights and freedoms but on their totality and on the equivalence of people's civil, political, social, economic, and cultural rights.

On this basis Vienna managed for the first time since Helsinki to agree on the concept of the "human dimension of the all-European process" and to elaborate the appropriate mechanism of cooperation. It includes collaboration among member states on humanitarian and legal questions bilaterally (consultations, the exchange of information, and so on) and multilaterally and the convening of three all-European conferences—in Paris, Copenhagen, and Moscow—in the framework of a single conference on the human dimension.

Much will now depend on how the Vienna accords are actually implemented in the member countries themselves. The commitments adopted in the human rights sphere must not be allowed to remain paper commitments alone. Everyone has much work to do here. In the Western countries practical steps are needed to eliminate such mass violations of human rights as unemployment, homelessness, racism, prohibitions on the practice of one's profession, and the persecution of fighters for civil and political rights and for peace. The demand that all states affiliate themselves with the universal documents on human rights stems directly from the Vienna decisions, but by no means everything is in order here. (The United States, for instance, is still not a party to most of these documents.)

In raising the question of implementing the Vienna accords, including those on human rights, in all member states, we are not demanding for ourselves privileges or exemption from the rules binding on all. Furthermore, our country was first to declare its readiness to fulfill them quickly. On 24 January this year the CPSU Central Committee Politburo adopted a resolution on this question which says, in particular: "Guided by the fact that the Vienna accords enter effect from the moment of their adoption, the relevant USSR ministries and departments are instructed to begin implementing them forthwith."

For the first time Helsinki process documents confirmed the right of citizens to make an active contribution to the struggle for human rights either individually or jointly with others. Activity in defense of rights is thereby encouraged.

Many concrete questions were examined in Vienna under the heading of freedom of movement, as it is known. In this regard the provision of international pacts on the right of citizens to leave any country, including their own, and to return to it, taking into account only those restrictions provided by law and compatible with international documents, is confirmed and reproduced. It was also decided that during the year all states will publish their laws and subordinate legislation relating to freedom of movement within the country and to travel abroad.

As for contacts between people and departures from the country, specific schedules have been established—from 3 months to 3 days—for the settlement of humanitarian cases: departure from a country for the reunion of families, marriages between foreigners, cases of illness, and so on. The categories of people who may go abroad for family, personal, or professional reasons have been expanded and it is planned to simplify the visa formalities for all those leaving and entering a country. It is laid down that in the event of the refusal of a visa on the grounds of possession of state secrets, such cases must be reexamined after a certain time has elapsed and the period of restricted movement on secrecy grounds must be strictly validated and published.

All these elements of the "human dimension" of the all-European process now require legal reinforcement in all the CSCE states, including our country, of course.

The things which have to be done in our country under the Vienna decisions are fully consonant with the program for the deepening of democratization outlined by the CPSU at its 19th all-union conference. In his UN address of 7 December 1988, which had an exclusively positive effect on the outcome of the Vienna forum, M.S. Gorbachev talked about the measures being taken here in this regard, about the preparation of laws on the freedom of conscience, on glasnost, on social organizations and associations, and so on. The performance of this work in the light of the USSR's international commitments can only increase confidence in our course and our sincerity toward the Helsinki process.

In that same speech in New York this process was termed a great process which must be preserved and deepened in all aspects—the philosophical, political, and practical aspects. This task will, of course, be discussed one way or another during the Soviet leader's visits to Britain, the FRG, and France in the near future and at other high-level meetings and forthcoming multilateral forums. The European agenda is becoming increasingly full and intensive.

Transit Gas Pipeline's Throughput Increased
PM0603095989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by L. Zorin and A. Trutnev: "Heat in Transit"]

[Text] The throughput capacity of the transit gas pipeline supplying Soviet hydrocarbon fuel via Czechoslovakia to the countries of Western Europe has been increased.

Gas from the Soviet Union first arrived in Czechoslovakia in 1972. At the time deliveries totaled 15 million cubic meters a day. In subsequent years volumes have increased several times over.

In central Czechoslovakia the gas transport system branches out, going to Austria, France, Switzerland, the FRG, the GDR, and West Berlin.... A USSR Ministry of the Gas Industry joint control group with headquarters in Prague has been created to control the powerful streams of gas, to plan and regulate deliveries of the hydrocarbon raw material, to do the book keeping, and to settle accounts with consumers.

"Whereas in the summer months 150-160 million cubic meters of blue fuel pass through the gas "crossroads" to the CSSR each day," V. Kurchenkov, chief of the Soviet control service, explains, "at the cold time of the year daily delivery volumes increase to 200 million cubic meters and more. And when the construction of a series of compressor plants has been completed on the transit gas pipeline, it will reach its planned capacity of 240 million cubic meters of raw material every day."

Petrovskiy Meets With IAEA's Blix in Moscow 2 Mar
LD0303161189 Moscow TASS in English 1540 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 3 TASS—A meeting was held at the Soviet Foreign Ministry on March 2 between Vladimir Petrovskiy, deputy foreign minister of the USSR, and Hans Blix, director-general of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), who is in Moscow to attend the founding conference of the Moscow International Energy Club.

During a constructive exchange of views on various aspects of the agency's activity, the Soviet side commended the IAEA's role in exercising control over nonproliferation of nuclear weapons and in developing cooperation in peaceful uses of atomic energy.

Petrovskiy also underscored a tremendous importance of the efforts to elaborate measures to ensure safe utilization of nuclear energy, which have been taken by the agency in recent years. In this connection, the sides touched on issues of utilizing the IAEA's potentialities in fostering international cooperation in developing more reliable and safe reactors of a new generation, conducting by the agency technical inspection of operating atomic power stations and issuing recommendations for enhancing their safety.

Hans Blix told his interlocutor about the agency's efforts to work out recommendations on nuclear power engineering safety standards, including those in handling radioactive waste and its disposal. He spoke highly of measures effected by the Soviet Union further to enhance the safety standard of atomic power plants, including those involving IAEA experts for this purpose.

United States & Canada

Moscow, Washington Embassy Staffs To Increase

PM0603093789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS correspondent dispatch: "Increase in Staff at U.S. and USSR Embassies"]

[Text] Washington, 4 Mar—C. Redman, official U.S. State Department spokesman, announced Friday a mutual increase in the number of staff at the following embassies: the U.S. Embassy in Moscow and the USSR Embassy in Washington.

Agreement on this was secured last month between the U.S. State Department and the USSR Foreign Ministry.

The first phase of the increase in embassy and consulate personnel was implemented 1 February 1989. By 1 August this year the staff at each embassy and consulate will rise to 256 and 30 respectively. It previously totaled 226 and 26 respectively.

Redman stressed that the main reason for these mutual measures is the considerable increase in both diplomatic and consular missions' work load. "Considering the progress in every sphere of U.S.-Soviet relations in 1987 and 1988, the work load of our mission in the USSR has risen considerably in all areas; this applies, in particular, to the consular department, which is now one of the most swamped in the world," he pointed out. "Exchanges have reached their highest level. The need to check and verify the provisions of the treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles has also brought about an increase in the embassy work load."

The Consular Department of the Soviet Embasssy in Washington is also extremely overloaded with work. The increase in staff will make it possible to considerably reduce the time taken to process documents for Soviet and U.S. citizens awaiting visas for business, tourist, and personal trips to the USSR and the United States.

Shevardnadze-Baker Talks, Arms Control Viewed

LD0503123989 Moscow TASS in English 1223 GMT 5 Mar 89

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Moscow March 5 TASS—By TASS diplomatic correspondent [no name as received]:

Meetings between Soviet and U.S. foreign ministers always draw attention, while some of them draw increased attention. This will be the case with a meeting between Eduard Shevardnadze and James Baker to be held in Vienna on March 7. It will mean the first contact between the statesmen who will play an important role in defining and realizing the foreign policies of the two great powers.

A new page will be turned in relations between the USSR and the U.S.A. Enough has been said that it starts not from scratch. The work done by the joint efforts of the two countries in the past few years has considerably increased possibilities in international relations. The positive results of achieved breakthroughs were felt not only by the Soviet and American peoples but the entire world. The Soviet Union believes that this is an asset which should be held dear.

A new level of mutual understanding and confidence is also a component part of qualitatively new Soviet-American relations. Maybe it is not as yet at such a high level as we would like it to have. But there is no doubt that the sides have now much greater readiness to understand each other than before. This is the way for interpretation of understanding displayed by Moscow that the new Washington Administration needs some time to analyse the situation in the world, specify positions and approaches to talks on the most important international affairs.

Another indicator of the new state of relations between the USSR and the U.S.A.: Even at an early stage of transition from the previous U.S. Administration to the present one, the leaders of the two countries declared their commitment to constructive continuity in Soviet-American interaction. The Soviet diplomatic quarters believe that an important element of predictability has been given to the relations between the two powers and the entire international situation. Besides, there is an evident desire for stable and positive development.

The context for the first meeting of the ministers is favorable enough. Circumstances are shaping up in such a way that it will not be a lengthy one. And yet it will not be a meeting of acquaintance and hand-shaking. The principle of constructive continuity should be filled with specific content. Moscow believes that Washington understands this too.

The dynamic development of international affairs does not permit to procrastinate the stages of analysis and to put off the stage of practical actions. The more so that some problems clearly claim priority attention. These are completion of work on an agreement on a 50 percent cut in strategic offensive weapons and a convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons, an end to the bloodshed in Afghanistan and progress towards a peaceful settlement in the Middle East. Of course ministers will deal with some other problems, both bilateral and multilateral. Consequently, the entire mechanism of Soviet-American talks, consultations and contacts should be set into motion.

Bush 'Pause' on Arms Control Criticized

PM0503183789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Mar 89 First Edition p 5

[Correspondent Vitaliy Gan commentary: "Protracted 'Pause'"]

[Text] Washington, 3 Mar—Among U.S. political and public circles there is increasingly clear dissatisfaction at

the stance of the Bush administration, which has effectively declared a "pause" in the joint search with the Soviet Union for arms control measures.

It is well known that the Washington national security apparatus is presently engaged in an analysis of the whole range of military-political and strategic questions and concepts. As high-ranking U.S. officials, including the President himself, have stated on numerous occasions, the U.S. side "will not be ready" to return to the negotiating table with the USSR until the completion of this analysis, the timetable of which has not been clearly defined.

Although few people openly accuse Washington of deliberate procrastination, criticism of its tactic of "making haste slowly" is nevertheless gathering momentum, demonstrating the Americans' desire to see the talks resume as soon as possible. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that to a certain extent these feelings are reflected in two initiatives currently in preparation at the level of the U.S. Congress and public organizations.

Representatives P. Schroeder (Democrat from Colorado) and A. Ireland (Republican from Florida) have stated their intention to begin a campaign for the withdrawal from Europe of the 25,000 U.S. military servicemen attached to bases where missiles due for destruction under the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles are stationed. Schroeder and Ireland intend to put this proposal in a resolution to be presented to the lower house of Congress and subsequently to submit an amendment to the bill on military purchases for fiscal 1990.

The opinion of these congressmen is that in light of the commitments arising from the treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles, the personnel serving the missile bases could justifiably be considered "superfluous" to NATO's needs. As envisaged, the reduction is to go ahead even if the Pentagon "disperses" its missilemen to other installations by the time the amendment is adopted. Among the factors that prompted this initiative, Schroeder named in particular the need for a response by the Bush administration to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's moves to end the cold war.

At the same time, a coalition of arms control and environmental protection organizations has launched a movement in favor of the conclusion between the USSR and the United States of an agreement limiting the production of nuclear charges for new weapons systems. According to statements by representatives of the coalition, this limitation is designed to promote the ending of the arms race. It would entail a sharp reduction in the number of charges the two sides would be able to create.

The public movement has already received the backing of prominent Americans, including G. Smith, former leader of the U.S. delegation at the SALT-I talks, P. Warnke, former director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, W. Colby, former CIA director, and J. Wiesner, honorary president of MIT. Senator J. Glenn has also responded favorably to this idea.

There are no guarantees that the current initiatives will be accepted. However, it is thought that they may serve as a barometer of feeling among the quite broad sociopolitical circles in the country who clearly realize the full urgency of further progress along the road of arms control.

U.S. Tests 'Stealth' Cruise Missile Over Canada

LD0303100889 Moscow TASS in English 0911 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Ottawa March 3 TASS—The most up-to-date U.S. cruise missile based on the Stealth technology was tested in Northern Canada on Thursday. The purpose of the test was to check the functioning of its electronic equipment.

According to a spokesman for the Canadian Air Force, the missile was tightly attached to a U.S. B-52 strategic bomber which took off from the U.S. Air Base Edwards, California. For four hours it flew over the Canadian Province of Alberta. Several more tests of the new cruise missile will be conducted in Canada this year without starting their engines.

China

Trade Protocol Signed With PRC 3 March

LD0303211589 Moscow TASS in English 2021 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 3 TASS—Soviet and Chinese government delegations ended trade talks in Moscow on Friday and signed a protocol on trade and payments between the Soviet Union and China for 1989.

The protocol provides for further expansion of Soviet-Chinese trade and economic ties. The Soviet-Chinese trade is expected to increase by 17 percent this year as against 1988.

A considerable part of Soviet exports to China is made up of machines, equipment and transport vehicles, including trucks and cars, equipment for power units, machines, forges and presses, goods vans and open wagons, electric locomotives, civil aviation equipment and other goods.

The Soviet Union will also supply china with equipment for the construction of electric power stations as well as for the modernization of a metallurgical works, 14 flax treating plants and other facilities in China.

For its part, China will deliver to the Soviet Union agricultural and animal husbandry produce, textiles, consumer goods, industrial raw materials, as well as some types of machines and equipment.

Soviet Far East-Inner Mongolia Trade Increases

LD0303161589 Moscow TASS in English 1541 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Nakhodka March 3 TASS—A 10 million Swiss franc (6.4 million dollars) contract was signed between the Soviet Dalintorg foreign trade organisation and the main foreign trade company of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region from China on Friday.

The deputy director-general of the Chinese company Zheng Zhiru who has arrived in Nakhodka leading a Chinese business delegation is glad that mutually beneficial relations with Soviet partners have been successfully developing. Last year contracts with Dalintorg were worth 120 million Swiss francs (76.8 million dollars). The company bought 130,000 tonnes of mineral fertilizers and much wood, steel and cement. The Chinese consumers are also interested in Soviet consumer goods such as musical instruments, refrigerators and vacuum cleaners, said Zheng Zhiru.

China exports products of agriculture and light industry to the Soviet Far East. For the first time last year the company sold tape recorders and TV sets produced at joint ventures with Japanese and Hong Kong companies.

Zheng Zhiru said that, from last year, the company has direct links with other Soviet foreign trade organisations and large enterprises. It has sent 500 woodcutters, 400 builders and 20 agricultural workers to grow vegetables in greenhouses in Chita region in Siberia. A joint restaurant is being established in Yakut Autonomous Republic. Eight Soviet and seven Chinese specialists will be on its staff.

Strengthen Trade

OW0203222389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1900 GMT 1 Mar 89

[From the "120 Minutes" program; Gerasimov video report]

[Text] [Unidentified announcer] I think that the direct trade ties established between Magadan Oblast and the PRC's Heilongjiang Province will be mutually beneficial.

[Begin recording] [Gerasimov] At the end of last year, representatives from Magadan Oblast signed the first agreement with a Chinese foreign economic relations and trade company in Harbin, the center of the northern Chinese province of Heilongjiang.

And now a Chinese delegation has arrived in Magadan to continue the mutually beneficial cooperation established in border trade. The visitors acquainted themselves with goods made by a number of Magadan enterprises and exhibited specimens of their own goods.

Gao Yungwen, a representative from a Harbin company, and the heads of the Magadan Oblast Trade Administration and the Magadan Oblast Fishing Consumer Association, have signed a contract on the supply of mutual goods. [video shows the delegations inspecting examples of goods and signing a document, then cuts to show Gerasimov interviewing the head of the Chinese delegation]

Comrade Gao, how do you assess the results of this contract?

[Gao Yungwen, briefly heard speaking in Mandarin fading into Gerasimov report on his remarks] Gao Yungwen says he is pleased with the results of the agreement. A contract for 7.5 million Swiss francs has been signed. In addition to barter trade between Magadan Oblast and the Harbin company, an agreement has been reached on cooperation in the economic and technological spheres. On the basis of this agreement, we will further develop mutually beneficial cooperation. [video shows Gerasimov addressing the head of the Magadan delegation]

[Gerasimov] The Soviet side has also benefited by the agreement, has it not?

[Unidentified Magadan official] The contracts are profitable for us. We have already imported about 200,000 rubles worth of Chinese goods. These goods are in great demand in Magadan Oblast. I hope we can now provide Magadan Oblast with vacuum flasks, cassettes, knitwear, radio equipment, and other goods. [end recording]

PRC Urges Officials To Gain Masses' Support

PM0103155789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Not Losing Touch With the People"]

[Text] Beijing, 28 Feb—At difficult times for reform people are often inclined to seek a panacea from some outside source. In borrowing foreign experience, we sometimes forget our best traditions. These are unity with the masses, reliance on them, and protection of their interests, the journal LIAOWANG writes.

Strength and a guarantee of successful party leadership lies in close links with the people, without which no undertaking will be crowned with success. However, LIAOWANG points out, currently certain comrades have lost these links and are incapable of sharing either joy or sorrow with people.

Certain people, LIAOWANG notes, have only to assume leadership positions for formalism and ostentation to creep into their work. They strive to move into more and more luxurious apartments and acquire fashionable cars, but they fail to heed people's voices and make success their exclusive prerogative. Yet the speediest solutions are required for such issues as the calamitous state of lecture theaters, the overloading of public transport, and the extremely difficult position with regard to housing.

The dissociation of some cadre workers from the people is also attested by the "partial forgetting of the tradition of consulting with the masses." We have still not implemented the demand set by the 13th CPC Congress of informing the people about important events and discussing important issues with the masses in order to jointly find ways of overcoming current difficulties, LIAOWANG stresses.

Northeast Asia

Mongolia Plans Troop Cuts, 'Low-Cost' Army

PM0603101789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Correspondent A. Nabatchikov dispatch: "Mongolia Cutting Its Army"]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar—On the eve of the 65th anniversary of the Mongolian Army's formation, major Mongolian party and government measures have been announced to transform it organizationally and structurally.

These measures envisage, in particular, a reduction of 13,000 in Mongolian Armed Forces personnel in 1989-1990, as well as cuts in a number of Air Force subunits. Eighteen warplanes, 1,000 combat vehicles, 60 tanks, and 30 armored personnel carriers will be withdrawn from army service. [Moscow TASS in English at 0951 GMT on 3 March carries a similar report which renders the preceding sentence as follows: "It was also deemed expedient to phase out 1,000 trucks, 90 caterpillar and armored vehicles, to adapt them for civilian use and turn over to the national economy."] Moreover, the arms and combat hardware of two motorized rifle divisions will be mothballed and put into long-term storage. At the same time, it is planned to cut defense appropriations by 11 percent before 1990.

Commenting on these steps, Colonel General J. Yondon, Mongolian defense minister, reported that after appropriate modernization and refitting, some of the arms and hardware decommissioned as a result of the cuts will be transferred to civilian use and placed at the service of peaceful labor. Measures are also being drawn aimed at maximizing the future use in the national economy's production sphere of army personnel demobilized as a result of the cuts.

In the minister's opinion all the actions envisaged in this direction are the result of the restructuring processes gaining speed in the country—and that includes the People's Army—as well as the fruit of an in-depth analysis of the qualitatively new international situation currently prevailing. Along with the Soviet Union's decision to withdraw 75 percent of the Soviet Armed Forces and arms deployed on Mongolian territory in the very near future, these actions are designed to make a real contribution to the fraternal socialist countries' overall efforts to give substance to the new political thinking in international relations and the concept of universal security.

The minister gave the following reply to a question from this IZVESTIYA correspondent on whether, in elaborating this program, account was taken of the principle of reasonable sufficiency: "From the very first days of its existence, socialist Mongolia has developed and strengthened its Armed Forces exclusively to defend the motherland, not to seize other territory. From the very beginning of our Army's formation, Mongolian military doctrine, whose essence wholly accords with the defensive military concept of the Warsaw Pact countries, has been profoundly defensive in nature. That is why we have never had any offensive systems. We have none at present, nor will we have any in the future.

"In light of the MPRP Central Committee Fifth (December 1988) Plenum decisions, our task is to have a low-cost army that is sufficiently prepared to conduct defensive operations and reliably defend the motherland's security. We now consider it possible to reorganize the Army in such a way as to reduce its personnel and armaments to the minimum required to carry out these goals in peacetime."

Soviet, Mongolian Deputy Foreign Ministers Meet

PM0603115389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] B.N. Chaplin, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, who is visiting Ulaanbaatar, met with D. Yondon, Mongolian first deputy minister of foreign affairs, 2 March.

Japanese Reaction to Takeshita Interview Cited

PM0603144989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Correspondent S. Agafonov dispatch under the rubric "Panorama of Events": "Tokyo's Response"]

[Text] Tokyo—The interview with Japanese Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita published this week in IZVESTIYA attracted close attention from the Japanese mass media and provoked a broad response within the country.

All the largest Japanese newspapers, KYODO, and leading television companies and radio stations reported on it, using epithets that elevated the premier's interview with the Soviet newspaper virtually to the level of a national sensation. Observers and political specialists are still performing political contortions as they recoil in shock at the fact that the head of the Japanese Cabinet appeared in the Soviet press, and they are making differing assessments of the significance of this event.

Of course, it is nice to note this reaction but, positive emotions apart, it also prompts serious thought—above all on the subject of how far we have lagged behind the normal state of affairs over the past few years if a foreign leader's direct speech, unabridged and unaltered in a Soviet newspaper, is treated as an unprecedented event and regarded as a new frontier for restructuring and glasnost.

However, in this specific instance these ideas are nonetheless secondary since the reaction to the interview itself takes center stage. What did Japanese observers highlight in the prime minister's responses? There's no denying that the lion's share of the commentaries are devoted to the territorial question and its Japanese interpretation. The other area of emphasis is on the inadequate level of the development of Soviet-Japanese relations and both sides' dissatisfaction with this; the prime minister's express desire to devote every effort to developing bilateral dialogue on a constructive basis is particularly emphasized. Virtually all articles devoted to N. Takeshita's interview with IZVESTIYA cite the Japanese Foreign Ministry's assessment that the speech by the head of the Cabinet in a Soviet newspaper is a link in the policy of glasnost and a manifestation of the significance the Soviet Union attaches to the Japanese area of its diplomacy. Here ASAHI SHIMBUN, for instance, mentioned M.S. Gorbachev's speech in Krasnoyarsk and Soviet priorities in Asian policy; TOKYO SHIMBUN pinned its hopes on the new thinking; SANKEI SHIMBUN wrote of the changes in the climate of bilateral relations following the USSR foreign minister's December visit to Japan; and MAINICHI SHIMBUN stressed the need to establish mutual understanding and welcomed the mutual endeavor to find a common language.

It is characteristic that the mass media here also have a quite sober approach to assessing the Soviet side's positions. Thus the influential NIHON KEIZAI SHIMBUN wrote that the USSR's approach to key problems of relations with Japan has not changed on the whole, although the tone of the dialogue has changed, which is illustrated by Takeshita's interview with IZVESTIYA. According to the newspaper, there is no point in expecting radical changes, in particular on the territorial question. However NIHON KEIZAI SHIMBUN reckons that the novelty consists in the fact that the Soviet Union is not evading discussion of this problem and is no longer concealing the Japanese stance on this score from the Soviet people. The same idea also pervades commentaries in MAINICHI SHIMBUN, HOKKAIDO SHIMBUN, and a number of other articles.

Near East & South Asia

'Details' of Shevardnadze-Arens Talks in Cairo

JN0503201689 Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic 3 Mar 89 pp 22, 23

[By Mustafa Bakri]

[Text] What took place between USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens during the meeting they held at the USSR Embassy in Cairo? The two sides discussed the establishment of peace in the region and Israel's stand on the international peace conference. The two sides also discussed bilateral relations. The following are the details of the meeting minute by minute:

Shevardnadze: At the onset of the meeting I would like to welcome you. I hope that our meeting will produce specific results that will push ahead the efforts for convening an international peace conference through which a compromise formula may be reached for a solution between the Arabs and Israel, particularly if there are guarantees on which agreement is reached from the beginning that will enable the conference to attain the objective for which it was convened. I also call on you to accept the idea of the preparatory committee for this conference and to agree to receive this committee in your country to discuss preliminary steps for convening the international conference.

Arens: Sir, I hope you realize how happy I am with meeting you, although my colleagues and I in the government hope that things will develop in a manner that will enable you to hold such meetings in Israel. We will gladly welcome you on our soil at any time you choose.

As for the talk about convening an international conference, this is something that Israel rejects. We have stated our stand on this in the past, and we have reiterated our conditions more than once. We believe that direct negotiation with the parties concerned—namely, Egypt, Jordan, and the Palestinians from the occupied territories—is the most realistic approach for settling our problems with the Arabs. We reject the interference of any international quarter in this affair in constituting some form of control.

You know that we are not against some international parties, including the USSR, having a supervisory role. However, this must take place following direct negotiations with these parties and following agreement with these parties on specific solutions. Anything else is rejected.

Mr Minister, what needs to be clarified is your stand, that is the USSR's stand. We really need a real Soviet contribution to peace. This can be attained through the following conditions:

—Resumption of diplomatic relations between the USSR and Israel.

—The USSR must listen to the Israeli viewpoint with due interest and care, and must abide by neutrality in submitting its own ideas on peace.

—The USSR must realize that the issue of Israel's security is not a subject for bargaining or discussion with the Arab side.

—The USSR and Israel must hold prior consultations before the submission of any new peace ideas.

Shevardnadze: But, so far, you have been rejecting any role for the PLO?

Arens: Yes, this is so because the PLO is still committed to terrorism. Israel is still studying the new factors that the PLO has put forth with respect to peace. However, as yet we have not found in these factors anything that encourages us to agree to a PLO role in the forthcoming peace process. Our conditions in this respect are explicit and were previously communicated to the PLO through a mediation party.

Shevardnadze: These conditions have been brought to my attention, too. And I beg to differ with you about them, particularly since the PLO has done all it could through the 19th session of the Palestine National Council. I do not sympathize with your demand that the PLO should back away from these demands, foremost among them the proclamation of the Palestinian state. We agree with you, however, that the PLO completely and categorically renounce "terrorism" and Palestinian military action coupled with initiating peace measures in the region.

Arens: We stick by our demands, foremost among them that the PLO back away from the PNC resolutions. If we drop this condition, we will have relinquished Israel's security and its requirements. I believe the USSR is not opposed to safequarding israel's security.

Shevardnadze: We do support your right to security and its requirements. At the same time, we support a restitution of Arab rights and the need to put an end to the critical situation in the occupied territories and human rights violations there.

Arens: We do not violate human rights there, but are acting in self defense and protecting our country from continuous disturbances, and that is what Israel's security is about. We have had to resort to severe measures to counter Palestinian action, and that is why our reaction has been commensurate to this action. If the Palestinians agree to bring the violence in these territories to a halt, Israel will end all its measures against the Palestinians in the occupied land.

Shevardnadze: You might have some point in your argument, especially concerning consultations between you and us on the peace process in the region. I would, however, like to point out that diplomatic relations should not be an issue in our talks. Developments of the struggle between you and the Arabs must take first precedence in all our talks. In this regard, I would like to convey to you the Soviet position, and it is as follows:

—The USSR hopes Israel will agree to the convocation of the international conference during the first half of this year and that a preparatory committee will prepare the parley.

—The USSR will take into consideration Israel's viewpoint on the makeup of the preparatory committee.

—International involvement in the Mideast peace process is essential. The Soviet position, however, is that no international party will impose its opinions on any party to the dispute. The Soviet Union may be in some measure of agreement with the Israeli viewpoint—namely, that the international parties guarantee whatever agreements are reached. But, in the meantime, we emphasize these parties must have a key role in formulating peace in the region.

The Middle East problem is a multilateral one. Israel cannot solve one aspect of the Arab-Israeli conflict and leave the others unsolved. The Soviet view, therefore, advocates a comprehensive framework for discussing all aspects of the conflict and calls on Israel to show good intentions during the talks. The Soviet viewpoint asserts that Israel cannot reach a comprehensive solution except through international negotiations.

—Within this framework, the UN role in reaching the final peace formula for the Arab-Israeli conflict can by no means be denied. The Soviet Union believes that if Israel continues to reject a UN role in solving the conflict, it should then abandon its membership in this international organization. I still do not understand the meaning of Israel's fear of a UN role.

Arens: We have no fear of any party, whether international or regional. But we want to make peace together through direct negotiations with the Arabs.

Shevardnadze: We hope to cooperate together to make peace in the region a success. We, therefore, must continue contacts on the level of foreign ministers and experts to agree on the common points to solve the conflict. I also hope that Israel will, in the next period,

provide specific views toward initiation of peace and that these views will be in line with the international trend, which calls for the convening of the international conference.

Arens: I agree with you on the need to continue contacts between us, although I stress anew that our viewpoint as concerns the international conference remains unchanged as we are not convinced on the current formula.

Just before the meeting ended, Shevardnadze told his Israeli counterpart about the Soviet peace proposals. These call for the convening of an introductory meeting between the foreign ministers of the Soviet Union and the United States in March to agree on common ideas to start the peace procedure. The Security Council's five permanent member states will then be informed of these ideas, and negotiations between these countries and the parties to the conflict will be held. The United States and the Soviet Union will arrange a meeting between the leaders of the Arab parties to the conflict and the Israeli prime minister to discuss the entire situation.

If certain results are not reached in this meeting, another meeting at the level of foreign ministers and with the attendance of a Palestinian delegation will be convened with a view to reaching an agreement between the concerned parties, provided that all parties are committed to preparing an atmosphere that brings the Arab and Israeli viewpoints closer, with the United Nations playing a clear role in this regard.

A dialogue on these ideas was held between Shevardnadze and Arens, with the latter promising to give a reply after presenting these ideas to the Israeli Government at its next meeting.

Shevardnadze Discusses Iraq Visit, Ties, Gulf

JN0403121389 Baghdad AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 1 Mar 89 p 2

[Report on interview with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze by unidentified interviewers concerning his visit to Iraq and meetings with Iraqi leaders; date, place of interview not given]

[Text] Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze recently visited Iraq within an official tour that took him also to Jordan, Syria, and Egypt. He held several important talks with the officials of these countries on many issues concerning bilateral relations, hot international affairs, and issues of common concern. Perhaps the main topic of discussion centered on finding a just and lasting solution to the Palestine question and maintaining peace and security in the region. The talks also centered on the Iraq-Iran conflict, the situation in Afghanistan, means of achieving international detente, removal of nuclear and chemical weapons, restructuring in the Soviet Union, and bilateral relations between the Soviet Union and the countries Shevardnadze visited during his Arab tour.

We met the Soviet minister to learn the details of this tour, especially his visit to Iraq. He said: There is no doubt that our important talks with President Saddam Husayn crowned our visit to Iraq. We met with the president for more than 3 continuous hours in the city of Basra, where the president was busy following and watching the execution of reconstruction plans. Our talks covered many important subjects. They mainly focused on bilateral relations in light of the political developments in our countries. President Saddam Husayn showed great concern about reconstruction in the Soviet Union. The president is very knowledgeable and has precise information about this important subject. He expressed remarkable concern about developments in our country concerning this matter. In our turn, we expressed our great concern over the important changes currently taking place in Iraq, especially since the end of the Iraq-Iran war and the start of the reconstruction stage. These major changes have a great effect on accelerating Iraq's development, progress, and prosperity. Our talks also dealt with other important issues. We particularly focused on joint economic matters and issues of common concern. President Saddam Husayn expressed his idea that Iraqi-Soviet cooperation be made exemplary and of a high standard. In this, he responded to the Soviet desire in this respect. I am very sure that this idea is totally applicable, especially when the Soviet economy becomes free from the restrictions imposed on it that impede its movement. This would give us much common fruit.

We also agreed to form joint research and analysis committees, drawn from experts and specialists from both countries, to make the appropriate recommendations to reach this joint goal. I informed President Saddam Husayn of my meetings and talks in the countries we visited—Syria, Jordan, and Egypt—as well as about my meetings with (Israeli) officials. We arrived at the common conclusion that our assessment of the situation in the region is identical.

On the Iraqi position toward the Arab-Zionist conflict, the guest minister said: Iraq, like the Soviet Union, believes that the only available means for solving the Arab-(Israeli) conflict lies in the convening of the international peace conference with the participation of all parties concerned with the Palestine question and Security Council members. President Saddam Husayn pointed out his country's readiness to make a serious, effective contribution to enhancing Arab unity as a main factor in solving the Palestine question.

On Iraq's position toward the implementation of Security Council Resolution No 598 and the progress of negotiations to solve the armed dispute with Iran, Shevardnadze said: As announced earlier, I conveyed a personal message to President Saddam Husayn from President Mikhail Gorbachev in which he expressed readiness to support and back Iraq in making sucessful the mediation of UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar aimed at achieving a peaceful solution to the

Iraq-Iran conflict and bringing a full end to the problem of war between the two neighboring countries. We stressed the need for a full implementation of all points of Resolution No 598. I would like here to point out that President Saddam Husayn stressed that Iraq supports enhanced relations of good-neighborliness and restoration of peace with Iran. Iraq also calls for a settlement that realizes the interests of the two neighboring peoples and leads to security and peace in the region and the world. My talks with Iraqi officials tackled the need to develop and push the Iraq-Iran peace talks onto the desirable road with a view to finding a just and peaceful solution to the Iraq-Iran conflict, extinguishing the flames of war forever, and removing the obstacles that hinder the progress of the negotiations so they can fully succeed in the interests of both sides and world peace in general.

Asked about his personal impression after meeting with President Saddam Husayn, Shevardnadze said: It is, in fact, a good and positive impression. We have talked for more than 3 hours, comprehensively covering many subjects of common concern. We discussed in-depth current world issues, those sensitive issues that concern the future of humanity in general. I am leaving Baghdad very satisfied with the outcome of this quick visit. I am confident that this outcome has added and will add much to the bonds of friendship and cooperation between our countries. It gave a new implication to these bonds, with the results to appear in the near future. My talks in Iraq were extensive.

Asked about the current situation in the Arabian Gulf region and the Soviet stand on this, and the role of the Soviet policy toward the countries of the region, Shevardnadze said: As concerns the situation in the Arabian Gulf, there is no difference in opinion between us and our Iraqi friends. We are in agreement on the need to eliminate tension and consolidate peace and security in this important and sensitive region. We support the concluding of a comprehensive agreement on the commitments of all the countries that navigate in the Gulf through providing firm guarantees by Security Council members and activating the UN role to maintan peace in the region.

I expressed to the officials in the countries I visited during this tour the concern of the Soviet leadership over the extensive presence of foreign war fleets in the Gulf. I agreed with the Iraqi leadership on the importance of holding further consultations to keep the Gulf region away from international tension and disputes. I believe that we can now realistically raise the subject of foreign fleets withdrawing from the Gulf. The Soviet Union has only a few ships in the region, and we are ready to pull them out immediately. We hope the Americans will do the same so that peace and security in the region will be consolidated.

Before concluding his statement, the Soviet minister said with notable delight and satisfaction: We found that Baghdad is a wonderful capital. It is a beautiful and very attractive city. I can call it a warm city. I have no doubts whatsoever that such a beautiful city lacks nothing. Although I do not know everything about Baghdad, I can say that my visit to Iraq, which is my first, gave me a deep and strong impression that your beutiful and forthright country is moving toward a bright and constructive future. I am glad to see and touch the fact that the destructive war has become a thing of the past and that Iraq is rapidly moving toward reconstruction, removal of the aftermath of war, and enjoyment of the peaceful atmosphere that shades the region today.

Soviet Plans for Mideast Dialogue Outlined

JN0303151089 Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic 1 Mar 89 pp 1, 24

[Text] Paris— Well-informed East European sources have revealed to AL-QABAS that the Soviet leadership has informed Syria and other Arab states that it intends to protect the process of dialogue and rapprochement between the PLO and Israel and that it will move, in the next phase, to patronize and encourage the Palestinian-Israeli contacts with the aim of achieving a historic rapprochement between the two sides.

Meanwhile, AL-QABAS learned that USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze has abandoned the idea of forming a preparatory committee to prepare for the international conference for peace in the Arab-Israeli conflict following Arab and Israeli advice only a few days after he announced in Damascus that he supports the preparatory committee. We will begin with the issue of the Palestinian-Israeli dialogue.

AL-QABAS learned from well-informed East European sources that during their talks in Damascus, Shevardnadze affirmed to President Al-Asad—and, also, to King Husayn, President Husni Mubarak, and Yasir 'Arafat—that the Soviet leadership intends to provide political, diplomatic, and, if necessary, security protection for the process of dialogue and rapprochement between the PLO and Israel.

The sources said that Shevardnadze stressed this subject especially during his talks with President Al-Asad and Syrian officials on the basis that the Syrian leadership has reservations on the Palestinian-Israeli talks and believes that any Arab-Israeli talks must be made within the framework of the international peace conference, and not outside this conference or before it is convened.

Shevardnadze raised this question in detail in Damascus with Syrian officials with the understanding of and coordination with the PLO, which believes that the Syrian opposition to the Palestinian-Israeli dialogue and the steps, measures, and operations that may result from this opposition will place obstacles and difficulties before this dialogue.

These East European sources explained to AL-QABAS that Shevardnadze informed the Syrian officials—as well as Egyptian, Jordanian, and Palestinian officials— of the following matters connected to this issue:

1. The Soviet leadership is convinced that no invitation can be extended to the convening of an international conference for peace in the Arab-Israeli conflict if Israel is not convinced, one way or another, of the need to accept PLO participation in this conference and unless there are close views on a number of important principles and issues between the PLO and Israel.

2. Based on this conviction, the Soviet leadership believes that it is necessary to establish dialogue and various contacts and meetings between PLO and Israeli officials. Also, the Soviet leadership intends to play a direct role in this regard in order to convince the Israeli Government of the need to facilitate the process of dialogue and contacts with the PLO.

The Soviet leadership will, in the near future, make tangible steps and initiatives to facilitate and encourage this Palestinian-Israeli dialogue. Among these steps that the Soviet leadership is seriously considering is to host public and secret Palestinian-Israeli meetings in Moscow.

3. The Soviet leadership believes that the main objective behind this process is to achieve, or attempt to achieve, a historic agreement between the PLO, in its capacity as the Palestinian people's legitimate representative, and Israeli officials. Such a process is naturally not easy and the results cannot be guaranteed in advance due to the Israelis' insistence on refusing to deal with the PLO. However, this process is necessary and, therefore, the Soviet leadership intends to endeavor to achieve it or to make it start and hold Palestinian-Israeli meetings.

4. The Soviet leadership will not only be content with patronizing and encouraging the Palestinian-Israeli dialogue, but is also determined to provide political, diplomatic, and even security protection for such a dialogue if necessary. This means that the Soviet leadership is expecting Syrian officials in particular, and also certain Palestinian forces that oppose this trend, not to take any steps, measures, or operations that aim to affect, in one way or another, such peaceful trends.

This is the first time the Soviet leadership has taken such a clear stand toward the process of Palestinian-Israeli dialogue and toward the process of encouraging the PLO and Israel to reach a rapprochement.

In another development, a very noticeable thing occurred during Shevardnadze's Middle Eastern tour. In a press conference he held in the Syrian capital on 19 February following his talks with Syrian officials in Damascus, Shevardnadze stated that a preparatory committee must be formed to prepare for the international conference for peace in the Arab-Israeli conflict. But, on the end of his visit to Cairo, Shevardnadze declared on 23 February that it is not necessary to form a preparatory committee and that such a committee can be disposed of.

So, what made Shevardnadze change his opinion on the preparatory committee so quickly? Well-informed Arab sources told AL-QABAS that King Husayn and President Husni Mubarak have persuaded Shevardnadze.

The Jordanian king and the Egyptian president told the Soviet foreign minister that there is no use in forming a preparatory committee to convene the international conference, and that it is better to concentrate efforts on preparing for the convening of the international conference without forming an official preparatory committee. This can be achieved through bilateral or multilateral contacts among the parties to the conflict or through unofficial consultations among the UN Security Council's five permanent members. When Shevardnadze met with Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens in Cairo, he asked Arens about his opinion on the subject of a preparatory committee and Arens asserted to him the Israeli Government's unequivocal rejection of the preparatory committee.

Hence, the Soviet foreign minister abandoned the idea of a preparatory committee—an idea the Soviet Union and France had reached an understanding on.

Soviet-Saudi Trade Office To Open in Riyadh

OW0403110289 Tokyo KYODO in English 0821 GMT 4 Mar 89

[Text] Riyadh, March 4 KYODO—The Soviet Union and Saudi Arabia will soon open a trade office in each other's country, according to Saudi Arabian sources.

The two countries have maintained no diplomatic relations for the last 50 years.

The sources said the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan paved the way for the two countries to open their trade offices.

Saudi Arabia earlier agreed to open its trade office in China, with which it has no diplomatic ties.

Diplomatic sources said Moscow undoubtedly wants to improve its relations with Saudi Arabia, which plays a big role in the Gulf Cooperation Council.

Saudi Arabia is displeased with U.S. reluctance to provide it with arms aid, the Saudi sources said.

Rebels, Snow Impede Supplies to Kabul
LD0403105789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0730 GMT 4 Mar 89

[Report from Kabul by correspondent Aleksandr Shkirando]

[Text] After the announcement regarding the setting up of the so-called transitional government in Pakistan under pressure from the Pakistani and U.S. administrations, the activities of the formations of gangs concentrated around the main provincial centers, including also around Kabul, have intensified markedly.

The leadership of the opposition demands that the ringleaders of the gangs accelerate their combat operations against the government troops, and organize and perpetrate terrorist acts and diversions against the leadership and the party-and-state apparatus, and also against the main state and industrial establishments.

If one takes Kabul, for instance, a lot of work is being done through the channels of the Ministry of State Security and the Internal Affairs Ministry to neutralize diversionary terrorist groups and saboteurs. Recently, the major diversionary-terrorist (Shofa) organization was exposed and neutralized. Its plans included causing explosions in densely populated districts of the city and shelling with rockets.

As you can understand, the aim of these actions is to intimidate the population of Kabul, and then, making use of the food problem, set it against the government.

As you know, the main reason for all the difficulties with the supply of food and bare necessities is that periodically the main roads leading to Kabul are blocked. A real economic blockade was being created. Now, as a result of combat operations, the main Hayraton-Kabul road is open for traffic. But another problem has appeared: abundant snowfall and avalanches. As a result, at the Salang Pass the thickness of the snow on the road has reached 3 meters. Bulldozers are now operating there intensively, and it is expected that literally tomorrow or the day after columns with food and fuel, which the inhabitants of Kabul have not seen for almost a month now, will be travelling to Kabul. I must add that virtually all this food and fuel is entering Afghanistan from the border areas of our country.

Pakistani regular troops are actively massing in Nangarhar Province, which borders on Pakistan. The situation in that province is not a simple one. To all appearances, the irreconcilable opposition intends to capture its administrative center, the town of Jalalabad, and announce its government there. Concerning the direct participation by Pakistani regular troops in the fighting on the territory of Nangarhar Province, I find it difficult to judge. At the same time, the Afghan authorities have quoted facts confirming the participation of Pakistani commandos and militia in such operations.

Food, Fuel Convoy Arrives in Kabul
LD0403220489 Moscow TASS in English 2151 GMT 4 Mar 89

[Text] Kabul March 5 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yuriy Tyssovskiy:

A motor convoy of 235 lorries, among them 180 tanker cars, left Hinjan on its way to Kabul three days ago. At Pol-e Khomri, Baghlan Province, they had to stay for some time because the road on the northern slope of Salang in front of the tunnel was obstructed by avalanches.

The situation on the southern slope of Salang was similar. Besides, military groups led by Ahmad Shah Mas'ud were active there in an attempt to straddle the strategically important road and to prevent the delivery of relief supplies to more than two million people of Kabul.

Not without difficulty and sometimes under small arms fire from afar, the convoy covered the entire 200-kilometre distance practically without losses.

Sarandoy (Militia) Colonel Vazir Mohamad, guard commander of the registration zone, said that another 1,200 lorries are expected to arrive in the coming days. On the whole, he said, traffic along the route was calm in the past two days from the military point of view.

Nizamuddin Sa'id Sada, traffic controller of the registration station which is located five-seven kilometres from Hair Khan [placename as received], the northern gate of the Afghan capital, said all trucks arrived safely, bringing a total of 2,500 tons of fuel—straw oil, kerosene, and petrol, 300 tons of wheat and other foodstuffs, and even seedless grapes.

Several trucks brought more than 30 tons of free supplies, mainly prime necessities.

One tanker car had its tire flattened by a bullet, and its fuel tank was pierced by another one. The tanker car was fired upon from an ambush not far from Kabul, near Qarah Bagh. Motor convoys continue arriving from the north.

Kabul-Hayratan Road Open; 4 Mar Clashes Noted
LD0503114389 Moscow TASS in English 1133 GMT 5 Mar 89

[Text] Kabul March 5 TASS—More than 30 Afghan insurgents have been killed and over 40 wounded by government troops during battles which took place in different parts of the country on Saturday, BAKHTAR News Agency reported.

The Kabul-Hayratan road is open for traffic. Convoys with food and fuel are moving towads the Afghan capital over the Salang Pass.

Residents in the town of Gardeyz put in a day of voluntary work to clear more than 12 kilometres of the road from snow. Twelve bridges have been restored and repaired and security checkposts have been set up to protect the highway from insurgents.

The Afghan Foreign Ministry sent another four notes to the UN observers in Kabul, citing new facts of Pakistani violations of the Geneva Accords.

President Najibullah has sent messages to the French and West German leaders urging them to use their international authority to put the earliest end to the bloodshed in Afghanistan.

Najibullah emphasized that the last Soviet soldier had left Afghanistan strictly on schedule, while the United States and Pakistan were not living up to the commitments undertaken within the Geneva Accords and were, therefore, contributing to the continuation of the fratricidal war.

Afghan Government, Rebel Forces Clash 3-4 Mar
LD0403134389 Moscow TASS in English 1330 GMT 4 Mar 89

[Text] Kabul March 4 TASS—Forty-four among the opposition were killed and 30 were wounded in fighting against government troops in the past 24 hours. Two Arab military instructors also died while working with anti-government groups in Qandahar Province. The oposition sustained casualties in Herat, Nangarhar, and Khowst Provinces. With the active support of the population, security men recaptured two trucks and two petrol tankers in Mir Bacheh Kout District, Kabul Province, seized earlier by extremists, BAKHTAR News Agency reported.

Over 115 rockets hit residential neighbourhoods in Gardeyz on Thursday, killing one civilian and injuring two.

Two rebel groups numbering 30 people crossed over to the side of popular government in Balkh District in the northern Afghan province of the same name in response to the government's call for national reconciliation and participation in restoring the war-ravaged national economy.

The Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Afghanistan has sent the 269th and 270th notes to the mission of UN monitors in Kabul, citing new instances of violations by Pakistan of the Geneva agreements provisions.

Afghan Government Troops Attack Rebels 5-6 Mar
LD0603104989 Moscow TASS in English 1035 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Kabul March 6 TASS—Over the past 24 hours government troops delivered powerful strikes at extremists' basing areas in Qandahar, Nangarhar, Konduz, and Faryab Provinces as well as areas in direct proximity to the Kabul-Jalalabad road, killing 84 extremists and wounding 120, and capturing a large amount of weapons and ammunition, including rocket launchers, recoilless rifles, mortars, anti-tank and anti-personnel mines.

The BAKHTAR News Agency reports that Salang Pass is open to traffic. Within two days 556 lorries and tanker trucks arrived in the Afghan capital, bringing more than 6,000 tons of food, diesel fuel, kerosene, and petrol. The convoys were attacked by insurgents in the Parwan-Kabul section of the road. Near Karabag District, insurgents managed to set fire to 13 tanker trucks and to two wheat-carrying lorries.

In Kabul security bodies rendered harmless two gangs which engaged in robbing apartments and shops. Property and goods worth more than one million Afghanis were seized from the criminals.

The Afghan Foreign Ministry handed over another four notes to the UN observers mission in Kabul, giving new facts of Pakistan's violation of the provisions of the Geneva agreements.

Afghan Rebels Fail To Take Jalalabad, Qandahar
PM0603100189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS correspondent A. Greshnov dispatch for PRAVDA under the rubric "Panorama of International Events": "Afghanistan: Opposition Gambling on Force"]

[Text] Kabul—The situation is still tense in Nangarhar Province. Extremists supported by Pakistani militia units are literally straining toward its heart—the city of Jalalabad.

The rebels' aim is clear—to seize the city and establish there the "government" they have cobbled together in Rawalpindi. Yunis Khalis, leader of the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan," who is working meticulously in accordance with his Transatlantic patrons' ideas to repay the millions he has acquired in Pakistan for the purpose of counterrevolutionary activity against the Republic of Afghanistan, has been instructed to seize Jalalabad.

Gulbuddin Hikmatyar, leader of another anti-government grouping bearing the same name, is active too. His detachments are also itching for a fight; the Pakistani authorities have promised direct military support, including tanks and armored personnel carriers. Lieutenant General Afzal Ludin, Afghan first deputy defense minister and member of the Supreme Defense Council, said in an interview with a TASS correspondent that this fundamentalist leader is well known for his brutality and has given his commanders orders to use two helicopters for operations against government troops.

Food and supplies are being transferred to Jalalabad from Kabul by air, and security posts around the city are being reinforced. "The opposition won't be able to achieve anything by military means whatever forces support it," Afzal Ludin pointed out. "The Afghan people are tired of the long years of bloodshed and support the people who are endeavoring to restore peace and security in the land of their forefathers"...

The city of Qandahar, the administrative center of Qandahar Province, which even in Kabul is described as the "citadel" of counterrevolution, quite recently literally "hung by a thread." Hard-line opposition gangs were chomping at the bit outside the city to establish control at all costs over this strategically important area of Afghanistan.

But government troops' positions there have now strengthened to such an extent that the hard-line opposition units are not taking the risk of coming right up to the city but are based at a respectable distance—between 10 and 20 km away.

Qandahar airport and security posts around the city are in fact being bombarded by long-range heavy guns. But in Qandahar itself peaceful life is being restored. The road to Pakistan is open, and border trade has revived as a result.

Balkanization of Afghanistan Predicted
PM0603103789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Review by Ye. Bay in Moscow and TASS correspondent A. Greshnov in Kabul: "Red Cross Returns to Kabul"]

[Text] Three weeks after their evacuation from the Afghan capital, officials of the International Committee of the Red Cross have returned to Kabul, REUTER reports. Once again the Red Cross clinic has begun work to prepare artificial aids for Afghans injured in military actions.

The clinic was opened about a year ago; during this time almost 2,000 patients have been given assistance there. The first of those returning to Kabul, Pit Khalloren [name as transliterated], a 37-year-old doctor from Denmark specializing in prosthetics, says that "he has enough work to last him 10 years. More than 20,000 people in Afghanistan need prostheses—and millions of mines have still not been rendered harmless."

The short REUTER report probably reflects the essence of the present situation in the country. Despite Western analysts' forecasts that there would be a "bloodbath" in the Afghan capital straight after the withdrawal of the Soviet troops, there is no change here. Every day Afghan and foreign aircraft, including Aeroflot aircraft, land at Kabul Airport. Tanks and armed subunits were withdrawn from the Afghan capital after it became clear that the opposition still does not pose a direct threat to the city, UPI reports.

At the same time, two explosions have shaken Kabul in the last 24 hours, the TASS correspondent reported to the editorial office. One of the mines was planted and exploded opposite the republic's National Council building.

Every day officials of the state security organs detain terrorists belonging mainly to the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" led by the fundamentalist fanatic G. Hikmatyar, and they keep discovering new arms caches.

The fuel situation has become very difficult. There are very few cars on the streets. Many gasoline pumps are shut off.

One reason for the fuel shortage is the complex climatic conditions in the Salang region, where several avalanches at once occurred, delaying a convoy of tankers in the locality of Pol-e Khomri. In the Salang itself the snow is 3.5 meters deep. A government commission is now working here to determine the possibility of getting convoys through.

On the whole—our colleague in Kabul shares his impressions—the Afghans have started to have more confidence in their own forces, and in the fact that the government will stand its ground. Time is on the local authorities' side. But it should be borne in mind that for the present the abundance of snow in the mountains is containing the actions of the armed opposition, but that when the thaw comes the struggle will inevitably intensify.

AFP reports from Islamabad that the rebels regard as their first target the city of Jalalabad, which they intend to storm and where they intend to locate their "transitional government."

Meanwhile the United States, which is continuing to give military aid to the Afghan opposition, is not hurrying to recognize this mujahidin government. As the newly created "President" S. Mujaddedi has stated, the government represents only one-third of the entire Afghan public opinion.

As is known, representatives of the eight mujahidin groupings from Iran were absent from the shura that elected the "transitional government." The Amman newspaper AL-RA'Y reported in this connection that the Afghan opposition operating on Iranian territory intends in the near future to create a united front with the present government in Kabul to counter the "pro-U.S. mujahidin" based in Pakistan.

Commenting on the disagreements within the "Seven-Member Alliance," REUTER is filing an extensive report from the Pakistani capital in which it is predicted that Afghanistan will suffer the same fate as Lebanon—the fate of a country fragmented into little principalities and submerged in internecine struggle.

In an attempt to avert this outcome, President Najibullah is continuing to make efforts to organize a dialogue with the opposition field commanders, many of whom have decisively repudiated the "transitional government" imposed on them by the Pakistani special services.

At the same time it is reported from Peshawar that a demonstration in the Khattak Afghan refugee camp culminated in a big rally. The demonstrators demanded that the leadership of the Afghan opposition remove from the agenda the slogan "jihad," "holy war," and also appealed to their compatriots to return home.

The demonstration and rally were held because of attempts by representatives of the "Islamic Society of Pakistan" and the "Islamic Alliance for the Liberation of Afghanistan" to forcibly recruit young people from among the camp's inhabitants into the opposition's armed formations. Such a practice by the opposition, the BAKHTAR News Agency notes, has become increasingly widespread recently in connection with the fact that people who believe that in present conditions the "jihad" is a crime against the Afghan people are leaving the active detachments.

Afghan, Pakistani 'Politicians' View Settlement

PM0303152589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with 'Abdul Wahab Safi, chairman of the Afghan Constitutional Council, and Inamullah Khan, secretary general of the World Muslim Congress, in Sanaa, capital of the Yemen Arab Republic, by special correspondent V. Skosyrev: "Afghanistan: Who Is impeding Dialogue—Politicians From Kabul and Karachi Talk About the Potential for a Peaceful Settlement"; date of interview not given]

[Text] History has tightly bound together the fate of Afghanistan and Pakistan. The rumble of explosions continues in Afghanistan today, and their impact is constantly felt on the territory of Pakistan, where the Afghan armed opposition is based. Pakistani leaders themselves complain that the presence of mujahidin and Afghan refugees in their country has become a cause of bloody ethnic clashes and led to a proliferation of the arms trade and instability in the border regions.

The search for ways toward a peaceful settlement, in which both states have an interest, could be helped by dialogue between them. Islamabad, however, declines talks with Kabul. It is, nevertheless, useful and instructive to compare the sides' stances. That is why your IZVESTIYA special correspondent asked prominent public figures in Afghanistan and Pakistan to describe how they view current events in Afghanistan and the potential for a political solution to the conflict. The conversations took place in the North Yemen capital of Sanaa during the conference on the problems of the Near East held there.

'Abdul Wahab Safi is chairman of the Afghan Constitutional Council. His brief includes scrutinizing the constitutionality of government laws and resolutions.

Inamullah Khan is secretary general of the World Muslim Congress, the oldest Islamic international organization. Its headquarters are located in Karachi. In the context of Pakistan's domestic policy, this organization occupies a centrist position.

[Skosyrev] What significance do you attach to the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan?

[Safi] We have regarded the Soviet soldiers as friends. And many of us who saw them off, therefore, did so with a heavy heart. But since the Geneva agreements envisage the Soviet troops' withdrawal, we are glad that the USSR has discharged its obligations and that your servicemen have returned home.

[Khan] I regard the withdrawal of your troops as an enormous contribution by the Russian government and people to the cause of peace. Restructuring has not only brought internal changes to the USSR but has also changed your foreign policy. M.S. Gorbachev took a courageous step in recognizing his predecessor's mistake and ending Soviet involvement in the war.

[Skosyrev] How, in your opinion, will events develop in Afghanistan after the Soviet troops return home?

[Safi] If the United States and Pakistan had, like the Soviet Union, discharged their obligations under the Geneva agreements, the war in Afghanistan would long have been over.

[Khan] A new chapter has begun in the life of Afghanistan, but that, alas, does not mean that the troubles are at an end. I issued an appeal to various Afghan leaders in which my advice was that we cannot live in the past but must look to the future, which must be based on mutual understanding and reconciliation of all strata of the Afghan people.

[Skosyrev] The "Alliance of Seven" in Peshawar rejects Kabul's proposals to begin dialogue. Considering this, is there still a chance for reconciliation?

[Safi] We are convinced that no military solution to the Afghan problem exists, and we are ready to sit down and negotiate with the opposition at any level and at any time. Since, however, in Peshawar they are preparing new attacks on our cities, we have been forced to

introduce a state of emergency and reorganize the Cabinet, placing a PDPA member at its head. But that certainly does not mean that the republic has abandoned its national reconciliation policy.

[Khan] Afghans are a sovereign people, and they must have the crucial say themselves. But I have made my opinion clear here: Broad-based dialogue is needed. The World Muslim Congress is intending to raise this question at the conference of Islamic states' foreign ministers to be held in Riyadh in mid-March. We have presented a memorandum to the conference.

[Skosyrev] Let's talk about the observance of the Geneva agreements. The Soviet Union is, as we have seen for ourselves, discharging its obligations. However, Pakistan, contrary to the the accords, remains the headquarters for the armed opposition and and its detachments. Moreover, deliveries of arms to the mujahidin via Pakistan continue. How do you assess this from the standpoint of international law?

[Safi] In my opinion, the question is absolutely clear. Any country that first signs a document settling a dispute by peaceful means and then fails to observe it is in breach of international law.

[Khan] You have doubtless read President Bush's statement in which he says that if Russia stops supplying weapons to the Najibullah government, we will not supply the mujahidin either.

[Skosyrev] I must raise an objection to you here. The Soviet Union has proposed an immediate embargo on the supply of arms to the belligerent parties. But the United States has not accepted the proposal.

[Khan] I am certain that President Bush's statement can be interpreted unambiguously: If the Russians stop supplying weapons to Najibullah, the Americans will halt supplies to the mujahidin... I am no prophet, but I hope that reason and restraint will prevail over violence.

[Skosyrev] Let us leave for a moment the dispute over the American President's position. However, whatever he said, the fact remains that weapons are going in via Pakistani territory. Surely this is a breach of the Geneva agreements?

[Khan] Pakistan itself is giving nothing. It is the Americans and Russians who are doing the giving. Pakistan is not so rich that it can supply others with weapons.

Correspondent's commentary: Our interlocutor's explanations are in line with what I have heard from Pakistani officials. They try to shift responsibility onto the great powers, as if Pakistan were not a sovereign country and had no control over the movement of freight on its territory.

As for George Bush's statement, I can cite the 16 February White House press conference. He was asked whether the United States would be supplying weapons to the insurgents in light of the Soviet call for an embargo. The president observed: "We will do everything necessary to achieve a peaceful solution and ensure that no side gains the upper hand militarily." The Western press has interpreted this vague response in no uncertain terms, to wit: The United States will continue supplying the opposition.

[Skosyrev] Pakistani President Ghulam Ishaq Khan has spoken of the possibility of creating a confederation between Afghanistan and Pakistan. What do these words mean?

[Safi] This is blatant encroachment on our sovereignty. The Afghan people will not allow these schemes to come to fruition. Moreover, even among the mujahidin there are patriots who won't accept such plans either.

[Khan] Our President has never talked about creating a confederation between Pakistan and Afghanistan. The press sometimes distorts words and gives the public the wrong idea.

Correspondents' commentary: The Pakistani president was asked by journalists whether the idea of creating a federation of Islamic Afghanistan and Pakistan, as proposed by General Ziaul Haq, was still alive. The president answered: "Let Afghanistan first become an independent and nonaligned state again, then the remaining matters can be resolved later." It is thus clear that the designs harbored by the late president have not been buried forever.

[Skosyrev] What do you think about the possibility of convening a UN-sponsored international conference on Afghanistan?

[Safi] A conference involving the states that signed the Geneva agreements and other interested parties could be useful.

[Khan] If the ministers of the states that have a bearing on the conflict meet together and draw up a compromise solution, the conference will mark a constructive step forward. As for the United Nations, it has already carried out first-rate work. Its representatives have shown enviable persistence and patience. And this international organization should have a prominent future role in the peaceful solution of the Afghan problem. [Khan answer ends]

Let us sum up. There is no doubt that, for all the differences in the assessment of specific events, the Afghan and Pakistani politicians are united by a desire to settle diagreements through dialogue. This is an encouraging feature, particularly as the heads of the Afghan and Pakistani governments have also repeatedly called for an end to the bloodshed. However, appeals are one thing:

Meanwhile the mujahidin leaders in Pakistan continue to receive everything needed for the "war to final victory." And while such a situation persists, it is difficult to expect peace to reign on Afghan soil.

Pakistani 'Patronage' of Afghan Rebels Decried

LD0303165289 Moscow TASS in English 1604 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Yuriy Kornilov commentary]

[Text] Moscow March 3 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Yuriy Kornilov:

Two reports from the U.S.A. were received here almost simultaneously. The first one, from Washington, says that according to a spokesman for the U.S. Department of State, the U.S.A. fully approves the creation by the mujahidin of an interim government in the Pakistani territory, even though the U.S.A. has as yet no intention to recognize it officially. The second report, from New York, is a summary of a message of Pakistan's Foreign Minister Yaqub Khan to the chairman of the United Nations Security Council. It follows from that document that no "interim government" exists. The message says the assertion that the opposition armed forces formed the so-called interim government in the Pakistani territory under the patronage of the Pakistani authority is absolutely groundless. What is to be believed? It stands to reason that facts should be believed. And the facts are common knowledge: The "interim government" has been knocked together under Islamabad's patronage so that with the passage of time attempts can be made to export it to Kabul by force. The Cabinet members, while continuing the struggle for ministerial "portfolios" proclaim outright the plans of new aggressive assaults on the Republic of Afghanistan and, as reported, even form certain police forces, that is, punitive forces, to "put things in order" in a sovereign country. All this, obviously, contradicts the spirit and the letter of the Geneva accords whose esence is that an end be put to outside interference in Afghan affairs. The Pakistani minister sent the message to the United Nations with the intention to prove what cannot be proved: that Islamabad complies with the obligations under the Geneva package.

The minister uses high-sounding phrases to proclaim Islamabad's adherence to the Geneva accords, but he passes in silence numerous facts showing that Pakistan violates them. Indeed, how can he refute the widely known information that camps and bases of the armed opposition in the Pakistani territory continue operating, that armaments are being supplied to "intransigent forces" in large volumes, and that extremists are incited to stage ever new acts of terror on Afghan soil. It is much simpler to declare that all this is "propaganda" and that he, Yaqub Khan, would not go into the analysis of concrete accusations against Islamabad.

Such pronouncements, surely, do not make the message more convincing. It is apparent that the Pakistani minister's message to the United Nations Security Council was a maneuver to distract the attention of the public from Islamabad's continued serious violations of the Geneva accords. Yaqub Khan stated in his message that strict observance of the accords by all the parties would open the road to a comprehensive settlement in Afghanistan. Quite right. But it should be remembered that Pakistan is among these parties.

India Denies Military Involvement in Afghanistan

PM0303161589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Mar 89 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Pakistan Preparing the Ground for Intervention"]

[Text] Delhi, 2 Mar—India has denied false allegations put abroad by the Afghan opposition that Soviet military advisers in Afghanistan are being replaced by Indian military advisers and that Indian pilots have been involved in combat operations against armed formations of Afghan antigovernment groups.

Local observers interpret these fabrications as an attempt to prepare the ground for broad intervention against Afghanistan with the participation of Pakistani military personnel.

PTI has pointed out that, despite India's denial of these reports, some news agencies have distributed another report from the Afghan rebels' press service, alleging that aircraft which carried out a bomb attack on 22 February against the positions of armed Afghan opposition formations in the region of the city of Khowst were flown by Indian military pilots. The agency has pointed out that this report, too, is false.

India's Role in Afghan Conflict Viewed

BK0603104089 Moscow in Urdu to Pakistan 1100 GMT 5 Mar 89

[Oleg Ivanov commentary]

[Text] Afghanistan Foreign Minister Abdul Wakil is in Delhi on a 4-day visit to apprise Indian leaders of the latest developments in Afghanistan and to hand over a special message to Rajiv Gandhi from Afghan President Najibullah. India and Afghanistan traditionally enjoy friendly relations which were maintained during very difficult times for the Afghan people. Political ties and trade and economic cooperation continued even during the years of conflicts, and today, when the question of reconstruction in the war-ravaged country arises, the importance of such cooperation increases. Abdul Wakil's visit is worth noting because it is taking place at a time when events in Afghanistan have reached an important stage.

The hope of those opposed to the Kabul government that it will collapse after the Soviet troop withdrawal has been dashed. The Kabul government has displayed its ability to defend itself, which shows that it is the single most organized political force in Afghanistan, a fact now being admitted by international circles. This fact has caused representatives of foreign countries, who had left Kabul in apprehension of the fall of the Afghan Government and resulting chaotic conditions, to think about returning. Mr Abdul Wakil described as a good omen the return of the workers of the International Red Cross Committee to Kabul and the reopening of their hospitals.

In the given conditions, only two scenarios are possible in Afghanistan. Either all influential political forces must reconcile at the national level, or they must face the prospect of a long, bloody civil war. The Kabul government has chosen the first path and has tried to open a constructive dialogue among all Afghan factions. In this regard, the Afghan Government is receiving all types of support from the Soviet Union, which is actively engaged in diplomatic moves, and many other countries including India.

As is known, India has played an important role in the implementation of the Geneva accords on Afghanistan in order to resolve this regional crisis through political means. (?Respect) for Indian diplomacy is commanded because India's diplomats maintain contacts with the Afghan Government as well as with some Afghan opposition forces. India is also a recognized member of the Nonaligned Movement and a prestigious international force. Although treading a cautious path because of its position, Indian influence is, however, greatly felt in the process of finding a political settlement to the Afghan crisis. Some people do not like this Indian role. For example, warning bells have been sounded from Islamabad that India should not interfere in the evolving process in Afghanistan. False rumors are also being spread to malign India's policy. Lately, stories have been told about Indian military pilots taking part in Afghan Army military operations. The Indian Embassy in Kabul has refuted such false rumors and has emphasized that Indian-Afghan cooperation is of a peaceful nature. It is also not judicious to keep India away from the Afghan settlement because if this conflict continues it will have adverse consequences for the entire region and the tension will increase here. All efforts should be made to prevent this, and everyone should do everything possible to contribute toward a political settlement of the Afghan situation.

East Europe

Further on Visit by Hungary's Nemeth

Ryzhkov, Nemeth Speeches

PM0503181989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[Report on speeches by M. Nemeth, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, and N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, at a Kremlin luncheon on 3 March: "In a Friendly Atmosphere"]

[Text] Today a luncheon was hosted in the Kremlin on behalf of the Soviet Government in honor of M. Nemeth, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers.

The officials accompanying the guest on his trip were also present.

The Soviet side was represented by Comrades N.I. Ryzhkov, Yu.D. Maslyukov, N.V. Talyzin, the leaders of a number of ministries and departments, and other officials.

N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, made a speech.

Comrade N.I. Ryzhkov's Speech

In cordially welcoming you, Comrade Nemeth, I would like to express sincere satisfaction at your visit to Moscow in the capacity of chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers. We attach great significance to the political contacts which have taken place today—your meeting with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, and the Soviet-Hungarian talks which have just ended. We have examined together all the issues which interested us and have conducted talks as like-minded people in the struggle for restructuring, for socialist renewal, and for closer cooperation in our common interests.

Just as with all the activity of our fraternal parties and the governments of the two countries, Soviet-Hungarian cooperation serves, in the final analysis, a single goal—the renewal of the entire life of society, the uncovering of the humane face of socialism, and an increase in the well-being of our peoples. The Soviet Union, Hungary, and the other fraternal countries have turned to face the original ideals and principles of socialism, the very essence of which is composed of the problems and interests of the working person.

Of course, each people has its own specific characteristics, and each one determines its own path of socialist construction and its forms and methods. This is natural, and in that variety lies our strength. "We do not claim," V. I. Lenin said, "that Marx or the Marxists know the path to socialism in all its specific details. That's nonsense. We know the directions of this path, we know which class forces are leading us along it, but in specific and, practical terms this will only be shown by the experience of the millions when they take up this cause." Liberated by restructuring, the living creativity of the peoples' masses convincingly confirms the correctness of Lenin's argument. This also relates in full measure to cooperation between the fraternal countries, which has

become one of the most important factors of building a new society on the basis of the principles of independence, full equality of rights, and noninterference in internal affairs.

Today we are pooling our efforts not simply in order to solve this or that specific task, but also in order to create a new model of a socialist society, one which meets the demands of the time and the aspirations of our peoples, and which is worthy of the lofty ideals of socialism.

We have grounds for being confident that we can solve our problems despite all the difficulties we are encountering today. Especially since our quest and the transformations being carried out in our countries do not run counter to the trends of world development; on the contrary, they are linked with them. In the age of space, global ecological, and other world problems, and the growing interdependency of states, a successful future can be built only by basing oneself on the priority of values common to all mankind and the pooling of efforts vital today to all mankind in the same degree as they are to each people.

The CPSU and the MSZMP are actively working for the renewal of socialism and for revealing the potential of the socialist system. Moving away from the past, we are restoring the democratic foundations of life which are inherent in socialism, and in an honest and open dialogue we are seeking new forms of political and socioeconomic organization.

In Soviet-Hungarian cooperation, renewal is also finding expression in the establishment of new and increasingly broad contacts and production ties between enterprises, associations, organizations, and cooperatives. They are now acting not just as the implementers of political schemes, but as genuine creators of cooperation and builders of Soviet-Hungarian friendship.

Our wish—and we shall strive toward this in every way possible—is that the first joint Soviet-Hungarian enterprises, international associations, and joint scientific collectives that have already come into being today should not only become the primary elements of scientific and technical progress and the accelerators of the development of trade and economic links, but also a new school of socialist interrelations and centers of our people's friendship and mutual respect.

Interstate relations and contacts at party and public levels and traditional ties via the state planning committees and ministries provide a stable basis for resolving economic tasks. At the same time they are geared toward creating increasingly favorable conditions for free, broad, businesslike interrelations between production collectives.

One cannot fail to derive satisfaction from the fact that these features of renewal were underpinned today, when during our talks we considered specific questions of Soviet-Hungarian economic relations.

Our countries find themselves at a difficult stage of development. The transfer from one qualitative state to a new one is an essentially revolutionary process. It is no easy matter to cross that dividing line between the future and the past. In addition, the existing circumstances in which this transfer is being implemented are far from easy ones. There are many difficulties, and we do not at present have ready answers to all questions.

But the choice has been made, a start has been made toward renewal, and the way forward is opening up. We have a common determination to restructure and renew life on new principles, turning social development toward the multifarious material and spiritual needs of the people.

Of course history is not without its paradoxes, although more frequently than not they are determined by objective causes. At a certain period, the development of socialism ended up subject to deformation.

Phenomena of this type put their stamp on many aspects of the life of socialist countries. They also affect our cooperation.

It is for this reason that the CEMA countries have come to a general conclusion with regard to the necessity of improving it, and the necessity to renew the mechanism of socialist integration. But we are not denying our past. It includes within it positive experience and the great achievements of the socialist community. Not long ago we marked the 40th CEMA anniversary. In the framework of a specific historical period, our union has helped fraternal countries, which chose the path of socialist development, to solve quite a few tasks. CEMA has become one of the most significant international economic associations. But today life has presented us with new demands and new criteria, and by answering their challenge we are carrying out a search for new paths and methods, and new forms for our cooperation.

The close cooperation between our countries on the international arena is an organic part of Soviet-Hungarian relations. The coordinated steps of the socialist states belonging to the Warsaw Pact and the contribution, full of initiative, of each of them to the cause of peace are exerting a beneficial influence on the process of improving the international situation.

The Soviet Union and Hungary, together with the other fraternal countries, are taking important steps at the present time in the interests of lowering the level of military confrontation on the European Continent and strengthening security and confidence. It is precisely

these considerations that have dictated our latest decisions on unilaterally reducing our armed forces, armaments, and military spending, and on withdrawing part of the Soviet troops from the territory of the allied countries, including the Hungarian People's Republic. Having demonstrated in deeds our goodwill, we have a right to expect the same kind of constructive approach from our partners at the forthcoming talks in Vienna.

By coming out in favor of setting up a "common European home," we want all the achievements of human civilization to be embodied in it. This presupposes not opposition and the imposition of one's own values upon each other, but a respectful attitude toward the whole variety of these achievements that has emerged in the process of historical development. The strength of the future home foundations will depend decisively on the extent to which it is possible to combine the whole range of special features of the state and public system, the cultures, the traditions, and the customs of the countries and peoples of Europe, while observing those obligations, common for everyone, that are set down in the final documents of Helsinki and Vienna.

In the context of humanizing international relations, we attach great importance to cooperation between states in the sphere of human rights. This is quite possible given a responsible and constructive approach by every government to the historical and national distinctiveness of the other participants in the world community. Proceeding from the principles of the Leninist nationalities policy, we will continue to implement a line of favorably examining humanitarian issues concerning Soviet citizens of Hungarian nationality resident in Trascarpathia in the interests of preserving national features, developing culture and language, and creating favorable conditions for visits by relatives in both directions, and for tourist and private visits to Hungary. Of course this applies equally to our fellow countrymen who have moved to the Hungarian People's Republic for permanent residence.

In conclusion permit me to wish you, esteemed Comrade Nemeth, all the Hungarian comrades present here, and the people of fraternal Hungary success in socialist construction, peace, and prosperity.

May friendly cooperation between our countries and peoples gain in strength!

Then a speech was made by M. Nemeth

Comrade Nemeth's Speech

I accepted happily and with gratitude the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers. I prepared for this meeting with great expectations.

My visit forms part of the tradition of meetings between the heads of the Soviet and Hungarian Governments, but I have the feeling that neither the conditions of our epoch nor the subject and spirit of the talks can be called traditional. The history of our days as well as the ordinary days of our history are characterized to a much greater extent by a break with many bad traditions. This break is painful, but new things have always been born in pain.

We are all witnesses to and, along with this, active participants in how a turning point is occurring in destinies these days and how history is being formed. You and we Hungarians want to move from the standstill and embark in the direction of creating a model of socialism that is capable of renewal.

Modernization now requires an all-embracing reform of socialism. This is essential equally for both the peoples of the Soviet Union and Hungary. The main desire of the Hungarian leadership is to unite the nation around the program of reforms that are aimed at creating a new socialist model in Hungary.

As head of government I am striving to ensure our ability for action and to unite those forces that advocate reforms. There are such forces in society, in the party, and in various political organizations. Only the creation of a center devoted to reforms can prevent the polarization of forces, disunity, and the creation of parties that would be an end in itself.

It is my conviction that modernization can only be ensured by acting in an organized manner and following the reform path to the end. On this path I see great opportunities for strengthening Hungarian-Soviet ties and our alliance. I see opportunities for ensuring the creation, both in Hungary and in the Soviet Union, of independent socialist models that reflect the specific character of peoples and nations, the possibility of implementing a reform of political, economic, cultural, and military ties between socialist countries, and freeing our relations of any weight that burdened them in in the past. I am sure that our peoples expect this of us, and this expectation commits us to cooperation, reforms, and renewal.

Almost all the CEMA countries are striving for renewal and for social and economic modernization. Our countries are bound together by a thousand threads. If we want to go forward together, we must also change together and jointly restructure the mechanism of CEMA cooperation. We all feel, know, and see that the present system of cooperation and the resources used in it no longer properly serve the development of the individual CEMA member countries and is halting the formation of genuine integration. Under conditions where real prices, exchange rates, and a convertible currency are absent, we cannot utilize the potentialities we possess. We are fighting against a shortage of goods and are unable to satisfy the needs of people at the same

time that we possess an untapped intellectual potential and production capacities. We all need each other's goods, and at the same time we are not satisfying those needs. We are making our market narrower instead of broader. This in turn is leading to our impairment instead of our mutual benefit under the current mechanism for cooperation. Therefore, we are firmly convinced that the renewal of the mechanism of cooperation within the CEMA framework needs radical renewal. If we do not do this, the idea of mutually beneficial cooperation will lose confidence both in our countries and in the eyes of the whole world. Therefore, swift practical measures are needed, and declarations will no longer be of assistance.

We must adapt to a changing world together, in union and cooperation with each other. Popular movements are gaining strength across the world, demanding independence, democracy, the solution of social problems, and social justice.

These desires must be reflected in our cooperation and in our joint search for a solution to global economic, food, energy, ecological, and demographic problems. There are no more closed societies on the threshold of the third millenium. Therefore, we too cannot isolate ourselves. It is necessary for us to open doors and not just windows onto the outside world.

It is necessary for us to assimilate the values of countries with different social systems, while at the same time maintaining ourselves and our own values. We cannot copy any other model, insofar as we would get a lifeless and sterile copy as a result. But we cannot proceed from nostalgia for the past, because one can only build on that basis such a fragile and illusory world as would be pitilessly swept away by the forces of history.

We must build a new world on the basis of our traditions.

The Hungarian people are full of yearning for peace. Therefore the new thinking in Soviet foreign policy, its increasing awareness of global responsibility, and the Soviet peace initiatives enjoy the unequivocal support of the Hungarian people and political leadership. We are convinced that this is our only opportunity. We therefore welcome the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan under the Geneva accords. We also welcome the willingness of the Soviet Union—on the condition that the two military blocs are disbanded and the principle of mutuality observed—to pull its military units out of the territory of the European socialist countries.

Together with the Soviet Union we are ready, by implementing an independent course in foreign policy, to help ensure that the dynamics of the Helsinki process do not decline, that the common European home is built on reliable foundations, and that the disarmament process continues, embracing nuclear, chemical, and conventional armaments.

Our attention is to a large degree focused on solving the global world [globalnyy mirovoy] problems, but we consider it natural that each people seek their own place in the new world, cherish their own values, and fight for their own survival. We consider the positive changes that have begun in the situation of the Hungarian minority living in the Soviet Union as gratifying in this respect too. Their possibilities are expanding in the sphere of culture, education, and information. Their collective interests are being increasingly represented, and there is wider cooperation in the frontier zones. These are vivid steps testifying to sincere friendship. These are changes for the better which, if they become a stable trend, will be capable of opening up new resources for the strengthening of friendship between our peoples.

We do not know what sort of world we will be living in in the next century. But we know what sort of world we would like to live in. We think it will be a world in which man will be able to live; one in which the environment will no longer perish; and one in which man will think and act as nature's friend. He will use his remarkable intellect and creative energy not to make weapons with which to destroy human beings, but in the name of the flourishing of the personality.

The shape of the world will be determined not by warring ideologies and military blocs confronting each other, but by cooperation for the sake of the universal interests of mankind, and that will be the base on which the quest for paths of prosperity for particular peoples and nations will proceed.

Such a world would have been considered a utopia a few years ago. The fact that it has now become quite real is immensely to the credit of the changes taking place in the Soviet Union and the renewal of Soviet foreign policy activity. If one is to follow that line, then a real historical opportunity is opening up before humanity to resolve global world problems, and simultaneously to eliminate the opposing military blocs and to make it unnecessary for troops to stay on foreign territory. The creation of such an opportunity is an historic step in itself, and the realization of it may be something which signifies a turn in the destiny of all humanity.

Our efforts should be measured along the scale of the goal which we have outlined. We know that the countries of the world are not playing an identical role in solving this task. Their opportunities, role, and influence in the world are not equal. But we are convinced that each country should utilize its opportunities to the maximum. We perceive and highly value the fact that powers which are capable of having a decisive influence on the destinies of humanity have set out along the road which leads to the creation of a world which the peoples would like to see. We intend to proceed together with them, to be helpers in this, and to make every possible contribution to this mammoth cause.

We are convinced that these desires will be crowned with success, and humanity will enter the third millenium as a community of peaceful peoples and nations who cooperate with each other and who respect their own values and the values of others.

In conclusion, M. Nemeth wished Comrade Ryzhkov and the Soviet friends health and spoke in favor of strengthening fraternal friendship, of success for restructuring in the USSR and the reforms in the Hungarian People's Republic, and in favor of the cause of peace and socialism.

The speeches of Comrades N.I. Ryzhkov and M. Nemeth were received with applause. The luncheon passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

More on Gorbachev, Ryzhkov Talks

PM0403174589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Soviet-Hungarian Talks"]

[Text] Miklos Nemeth, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, was in the Soviet Union 2-3 March on a working visit, at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government. Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, received M. Nemeth and had a friendly conversation with him.

Talks took place between Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and M. Nemeth, during which the attention was focused on topical questions of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and Hungary; the state of and prospects for the development of bilateral cooperation; and most important international problems.

N. Ryzhkov informed M. Nemeth of the practical steps to implement the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference and subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, about the restructuring processes which have gotten under way in the country, and about preparations for elections of USSR people's deputies, which are intended to become a major landmark on the road to the revolutionary renewal of society.

It was stressed that restructuring principally means a new social and economic policy, the core of which is the social reorientation of the economy, raising well-being, and improving the lives of Soviet people. Special attention during the implementation of radical economic reform is being paid to priority directions in developing the national economy and first and foremost to questions of scientific and technological progress.

M. Nemeth spoke in detail of the development of democratization and renewal in Hungary, of the efforts being made by the MSZMP Central Committee and the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic to bring about a cardinal reform of economic life and the system of political institutions, and of the decisions of the plenums of the party Central Committee held in February of this year. It was noted that the main task is to create the conditions necessary for the implementation of social and economic stabilization and the moral renewal of the country. The MSZMP as the leading force of society acts as the initiator of the extensive development of democratic processes within the country. In order to perform the tasks facing Hungarian society it is essential to create a new national concensus on the basis of responsibility for the destiny of the country and of socialist constitutionality.

The Soviet side expressed profound gratitude for the sincere condolences, comradely sympathy, and selfless aid provided by Hungarian organizations and citizens in connection with the tragedy which befell Soviet Armenia.

Those taking part in the talks noted, after expressing their satisfaction with the harmony of the policies of renewal being conducted in both countries, that close and intensive contacts typified by mutual understanding and trust, interest in one another's successes, and an attitude of respect toward that practice of restructuring and reform within the framework of socialist construction which is determined by specific national conditions, are maintained between the leadership of the Soviet Union and the Hungarian People's Republic.

The heads of government analyzed how the realization of the accords reached during the meetings and conversations between M.S. Gorbachev and K. Grosz was progressing, and noted that on the whole they are being fulfilled. The sides confirmed their mutual readiness to make additional efforts to deepen and further improve economic cooperation between the two countries, which is of a multifaceted character and is mutually advantageous.

The importance of the work carried out in coordinating the national economic plans of the USSR and Hungary was stressed. The appropriate organs of the USSR and Hungary, in the course of this work, were charged with paying particular attention to improving the mechanism and methods of coordinating the plans—taking into consideration the decisions of the 43d and 44th sessions of CEMA, the economic reforms being carried out in both countries, and the role of incentives for enterprises and commodity-money relations—to improving the structure of Soviet-Hungarian economic links, to raising the technical level and quality of the goods supplied to each other, and to the development of specialization and coordination in production.

The sides agreed to make additional efforts to balance accounts between the USSR and Hungary in the period 1989-1990, including by increasing deliveries from the USSR.

The measures taken by the intergovernmental Soviet-Hungarian commission, aimed at improving the economic mechanism of bilateral cooperation, were approved. In this connection, it was agreed to make the necessary efforts so that in the period of the new 5-year plan, economic links between the two countries might develop on the basis of the new mechanism of cooperation, which would be real on all levels.

It was noted that significant work had been carried out by ministries, departments, associations, enterprises, and organizations of both countries to develop new forms of production and scientific and technical cooperation. Twenty joint enterprises in different branches of the national economy, 2 international associations, and 19 joint scientific collectives have been created; 240 pairs of Soviet and Hungarian enterprises and organizations are carrying on direct links. The sides paid attention to the need to raise the effectiveness of these forms of cooperation on the basis of providing enterprises and organizations with a direct incentive.

Certain concrete questions of economic cooperation were considered. The need was particulary noted to speed up the organization of cooperation in the construction of a new line of the subway in Budapest, and in matters connected with the building, with the assistance of the USSR, of million-kw hour power sets, in order to expand the Paks nuclear power station.

N. Ryzhkov and M. Nemeth exchanged views on the course of implementing the decisions of the 44th CEMA session, the restructuring of the mechanism, content, and forms of multilateral cooperation, socialist economic integration, and the work of the council. It was noted that the advantages emerging from the international socialist division of labor within the framework of CEMA are an important factor in the development of the national economies of the Soviet Union and Hungary.

The sides welcomed the establishment of contacts between CEMA and the EEC, pointing to its great political significance. This opens up prospects for broader economic and scientific and technological cooperation between these organizations and for their contribution to the building of the economic foundations of an "pan-European home."

The importance was stressed of Soviet-Hungarian ties in the area of ideology, science and culture, and the significance of the comprehensive program for the perfection of ideological cooperation between the CPSU and the MSZMP which was signed in November 1988 in Budapest.

Satisfaction was expressed over jointly adopted measures aimed at developing tourism and fulfilling the intergovernmental agreement on simplifying the procedure for crossing the state border by persons living in border regions of the USSR and Hungary, which facilitates further expansion of contacts between citizens of the two countries.

The Hungarian side placed a high value on the fact that the Hungarian national minority living in the Soviet Union has, in accordance with the principles of Lenin's policy on the nationalities, ever better opportunities to satisfy its requirements in the development of language and culture and in implementing public activities.

In the discussion of international problems, N. Ryzhkov and M. Nemeth reiterated the fundamental unity of the sides' views in assessing the situation in Europe and the world. It was noted that important qualitative changes have recently been taking place in international relations; the necessity and opportunity for establishing a constructive and full East-West dialogue and for raising the level of mutual trust have been clearly revealed; and the tendency to solve complex international problems by political means is becoming established. These positive moves are convincing evidence of the fact that the new political thinking is producing ever more visible results in the matter of improving the international climate, strengthening universal peace and security, and advancing along the road of genuine disarmament.

The Hungarian side placed a high value on the speech by M.Gorbachev at the United Nations in December 1988 and the wide-scale initiatives put forward in it.

It was particularly noted that by announcing unilateral armed force and armament cuts and the withdrawal of some Soviet troops from the territories of several allied countries, including Hungary, the Soviet Union once again reiterated its commitment to the cause of peace and confidence building. In the spirit of its determination to take an active part in implementing the Soviet proposals and to facilitate in every way the reduction of conventional weapons in Europe, the Government of Hungary has adopted the decision to reduce military expenditure and to reduce staff numbers and armaments of the Hungarian People's Army.

Both sides expressed the conviction that the unilateral steps which have been undertaken by the USSR, Hungary, and other allied socialist countries to reduce armaments and armed forces in Europe create favorable conditions for resolving the questions of practical disarmament on the continent and for reaching mutually acceptable accords on a substantial lowering of the level of military confrontation from the Atlantic to the Urals.

The heads of government rated positively the results of the Vienna meeting of representatives of CSCE member states and stressed that it will go down in the history of international relations as an important milestone in the

ongoing development of the all-European process. They welcomed the upcoming opening of the talks on conventional armed forces in Europe and the resumption of the talks on confidence- and security-building measures.

The USSR and Hungary advocate the further enhancement of the role and effectiveness of the United Nations as a unique international forum and center for the coordination of states' actions and the development of dialogue on an all-embracing approach to the strengthening of international peace and security.

The Soviet Union and Hungary expressed a readiness to deepen, expand, and improve foreign policy cooperation for the dynamic development of the Helsinki process and the building of the "all-European home" and for the sake of establishing peace in our world.

Both sides believe that the talks, which were held in a warm and comradely atmosphere, have helped to strengthen the friendship and all-around cooperation between the USSR and Hungary and between the Soviet and Hungarian peoples.

Taking part in the talks for the Soviet side were: Yu.D. Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR Gosplan; N.V. Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and USSR permanent representative to CEMA; K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations; I.P. Aboymov, USSR deputy foreign minister, and B.I. Stukalin, USSR ambassador to Hungary; and for the Hungarian side, P. Szonyi, deputy minister and head of the Hungarian Council of Ministers secretariat on international economic ties; I. Oszi, Hungarian deputy foreign minister, and S. Rajnai, Hungarian ambassador to the USSR.

M. Nemeth visited the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum and laid a wreath. A wreath was also laid at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier by the Kremlin wall.

On the same day the head of the Hungarian Government left Moscow for home.

M. Nemeth was seen off at the airport by N.I. Ryzhkov and other officials.

The Hungarian and Soviet national flags were hoisted at the airport.

Nemeth Summarizes Talks

LD0403001489 Budapest MTI in English 2221 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 3 (MTI)—During his return flight from Moscow, Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth gave a statement to journalists.

He said that in the course of his talks with Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviet leader outlined the reform endeavours of his country stressing that tackling the tasks and eliminating tensions had proved to be a much more difficult task than they had earlier presumed. Mistakes tend to occur in the process, and sufficient patience and firmness are necessary to hold on to this road. But there is no other way.

"We also touched upon the similiarities in the life of the two countries, and that, apart from the agreement on fundamental questions, actual measures and the space of changes was surrounded by controversy. Mikhail Gorbachev issued a warning that to demand perfect harmony between the reform of the system of political institutions and that of the economy would be illusionary. He added immediately, however, that the reform of political institutions cannot permanently overtake that of the economy, for this would be the source of various dangers, such as hard line politics and solutions that may cause harm not only to the society of our age but to the future one, as well. Therefore, it seems to be crucial to guarantee the accord between these two processes with sufficient patience, yet with firm determination. I think that this evaluation by the Soviet leader has been a very important contribution to the analysis of our situation.

'Calm' and 'moderate', that was how Mikhail Gorbachev described the evaluation of the 1956 events by the February 10-11 session of the HSWP Central Committee. He praised the outcome of the session, which cannot be considered final, since further domestic and international research is required to bring about a dialogue and a consensus on the interpretation of Hungarian history."

The general secretary greeted the idea of pluralism, since he considers the representation, institutionalization and confrontation of opinions and interests in all their aspects to be at the core of democracy. He added that the future would decide whether a one-party system or the multi-party system chosen by Hungary was the better way for the realization of pluralism. Mikhail Gorbachev stressed that he did not consider this a matter of principle: The Soviet Union seeks pluralism within a one-party system, yet he would not reprimand the Hungarian leadership for its decision to introduce a multi-party system.

He stressed that a multi-party system should not be seen as a panacea. The point would be to bring about democracy, get the people involved and have a consciousness of ownership.

Talking about the CMEA, Mr Gorbachev said it should undergo a drastic transformation. At present, there are many contradictions and obstacles in the mechanism of this cooperation. As far as major trends are concerned, the solution would be to improve cooperation between companies. He added that a lot of CMEA countries think otherwise, yet it is not perfect agreement that is the most

important thing at all costs. Instead of waiting for a complete consensus, the CMEA countries should seek agreement in bilateral or tripartite relations.

Miklos Nemeth concluded his summary by announcing that arrangements had been made for repeating his official friendly visit to the Soviet Union in a few months' time. "We had very candid talks, one thought was followed by another spontaneously, raising another opinion. The atmosphere reflected the spirit suggested by one of Mr Gorbachev's statements in Kiev: 'Complete sovereignty, independence, and non-interference with one another's domestic affairs should be the guiding principles in the relations between two socialist countries'. This view opens new vistas for Hungary, and it would be stupid not to seize the opportunity," Mr Nemeth concluded.

Further Nemeth Comments

PM0603151589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Nemeth Interview"]

[Text] Budapest, 4 Mar—In an interview with Hungarian journalists M. Nemeth, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, made a high assessment of the results of his working visit to Moscow and his talks with the Soviet leaders.

He emphasized that questions of implementing reforms in the Soviet Union and Hungary were discussed at the meeting with M.S. Gorbachev. It was pointed out that the appropriate patience and firmness are needed in order to reach the end of this path. There is no other way. Every country can form a different model of open and democratic socialism centered on the individual. Every party and government bears responsibility for a specific decision—to its own people above all. M. Nemeth said that the Soviet leader's conclusions on the need to achieve harmony between the processes of the political reform and the economic reform are very important from the viewpoint of analyzing the situation in Hungary.

It was possible to feel during the Moscow talks, the Hungarian head of government continued, that in internal political life in the Soviet Union, whose dynamism has increased with the approach of the elections of USSR people's deputies, it is impossible to use old methods to conduct political discussions but it is necessary to arrange contacts with people in a new way in order to ensure honest politics.

We held frank talks in the nature of a dialogue. I am very satisfied with the atmosphere of the meeting. It accorded with the spirit of which M.S. Gorbachev spoke in Donetsk and then in Kiev: Relations between two socialist countries must be determined by full sovereignty, independence, and noninterference in each other's affairs.

New Border Regulations Ease Crossing

LD0203204189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1052 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, 2 Mar (TASS)—TASS correspondent Aleksandr Smirnov reports:

From 1 March this year border residents of the USSR and the Hungarian People's Republic will be able to cross the Soviet-Hungarian border on foot or by motor vehicle at any time, thanks to the new rules for crossing the border linking the fraternal states. This new procedure makes it possible to considerably simplify crossing the Soviet-Hungarian border by those citizens who are permanent residents of the border areas. This has been done in order to simplify the travel arrangements of relatives and acquaintances living on both sides of the border.

One can now dispense with the invitation, which sometimes took up to a month to arrive, in order to travel from one country to the other. In addition to the existing Zahony-Chop crossing point, last Wednesday saw the opening of four more crossing points on the Soviet-Hungarian border, operating from 1000 to 1800 Moscow time daily. A joint Soviet-Hungarian border and customs control system has also been established, considerably speeding up the procedure for passing through the crossing points.

MSZMP Secretary on Army Party Affiliation

PM0203145989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Gerasimov dispatch: "In the People's Interests"]

[Text] Budapest, 28 Feb—In elaborating a new concept of socialism, the MSZMP has stated that the creation of political or administrative obstacles to the formation of a multiparty system would not be in its interests. Today it should be recognized, MSZMP documents state, that there are real requirements in society today for various economic and political interests to be revealed through the vehicle of parties.

In this regard a discussion has been launched on whether Hungarian People's Army and police officers can be members of parties other than the MSZMP or whether they should remain outside any party. Answering these questions, Gyorgy Fejti, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, said that the Hungarian People's Army should play a stabilizing role. The country's interests and its sovereignty cannot be defended without military power. The proposal to "depoliticize" the Armed Forces

is unrealistic. The overwhelming majority of the professional complement of the Hungarian People's Army are MSZMP members, and no references by newly organized parties to equal chances can be a reason for the MSZMP to abandon its stance on this issue. The Army would be ineffective without the MSZMP, the MSZMP Central Committee secretary stated.

'Dynamism' of Hungarian Changes Viewed

PM0103164189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 1 Mar 89 Single Edition p 5

[S. Abramov and V. Ivanov article: "Dialogue With Life. Problems and Prospects of Hungarian Reform"]

[Text] Budapest-Moscow—The Soviet tourist coming to Budapest for the first time is greatly impressed by the store windows, the excellent service, the multitude of superb vehicles, and much else which, unfortunately, he rarely encounters at home. We too could not immediately become accustomed to the abundance at meat and vegetable counters, the mounds of "varenki" and trainers which are so fashionable now, the cleanliness in the streets and gateways, and the unhurried rhythm of life in the Hungarian capital.

But someone who was in Hungary even 5 years ago cannot fail to be struck by something else. In just this short time the prices of consumer goods have soared by 75-80 percent.

The latest increase in prices for foodstuffs and certain services at the beginning of this year came as no surprise to the Hungarians. The government had published in advance a schedule of price rises for 1989. Next in line is an increase in the tariffs for transport, energy, and water.

Although the rise in prices went hand in hand with a definite purchasing boom, particularly in large cities, the store shelves had certainly not been emptied. Radio and television repeatedly reported that there were plenty of goods, enough for everyone. We were able to see the correctness of these words for ourselves.

An increase in the level of pensions, allowances, and grants was announced at the same time as the price rise. Nevertheless, many people will have to tighten their belts, and real per capita incomes will fall 1 percent this year.

The policy of closing and streamlining loss-making enterprises and organizations has resulted in approximately 30,000 people looking for work. The existence of unemployment in a socialist country and of unemployment benefits has been publicly announced.

In a number of places increasing social tension has taken the form of brief strikes. Probationers at the capital's opera house even ventured to strike before a premiere. Even though the opera house trade union committee supported the strikers' demands, dissatisfaction with the Hungarian trade unions' policies has led, in particular, to the formation of a number of independent trade unions.

Against this background the unusual dynamism of economic and political life, unequaled over the past quarter-century, is no longer surprising. Particularly significant changes have occurred since the All-Hungary MSZMP Conference (May 1988), which adopted a policy on creating political, legal, and economic institutions.

New laws on economic activity are adopted one after another, and stormy debates in parliament are televised. The work of the state and party apparatus and of trade unions and the Communist Youth League is being restructured. The number of alternative public associations is growing.

Why has the Republic's economy ended up in such a state? To endeavor to answer briefly, it all stems (and today practically everyone in Hungary recognizes this) from the economy's inefficient structure—repeated attempts to change it have been made over the past 20 years.

The viewpoint that Western credits would enable the economy to strengthen and that its subsequent rapid growth would make it possible to pay off the debts was not confirmed in practice. Credits were a temporary and, moreover, unreliable protection against approaching difficulties. Conditions were not created for the development of a technically modern and flexible economy, and there was no money left to do it anyway.

It was unwise, not to say dangerous, to continue along that path. In 1987 some 80 percent of exports to Western countries went to pay off foreign debts. Today Hungary occupies 1st place in Europe and 11th in the world in terms of per capita debt.

Assistance to loss-making enterprises costs the state several hundred billion forints a year. "This policy and practice of subsidies," M. Nemeth, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, has emphasized, "plays a significant role in the fact that a considerable proportion of our enterprises develop and function under 'hothouse' conditions, isolated from the effects of the outside world. If we do not put an end to this... the Hungarian national economy will come very close to the point of floundering and regressing."

But what about the law on bankruptcy and streamlining, adopted back in 1986, we asked Hungarian economists—the law which opened up the possibility of breaking up loss-making economic organizations? This "fate" was foretold for dozens of enterprises. According to forecasts, approximately 200,000 people were to change their place of work before the end of 1990. During this time, however, the property of just 1 state enterprise, 20

small economic organizations, and 80 cooperatives, whose significance is, quite frankly, small in the restructuring of the economy, has gone under the hammer.

Many specialists of the Republic's National Planning Office and Finance Ministry believe that a significant reduction in state subsidies will give a new boost to restructuring. They will be reduced by 30 billion forints this year alone, and more than threefold by 1993. The latest rise in food prices is accounted for precisely by a considerable reduction in subsidies to agriculture.

It is not hard to notice that what are, at first sight, purely economic questions, are increasingly acquiring a political hue. MSZMP General Secretary K. Grosz has repeatedly emphasized in his speeches that true reform cannot be reduced to a single sphere of social life—the economy.

The modernization of the existing political institutions is the chief thing in the country's further democratic development. Many people share the party conference decisions that the country needs the party, the combat union, as it was created, as it was, and as it can be if it rids itself of ossified ideological prejudice, a dogmatic work style, and exclusivity. Very different viewpoints on how this should be carried out are expressed at the political forums which, it could be said, have become everyday practice.

We have also attended meetings of informals, to use our own language. Many of them have been formed since the party conference—more than 30 sociopolitical organizations, associations, and movements. Some of them, such as the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the Union of Free Democrats, the "Left-Wing Alternative" association, and others, aspire to the status of political parties.

There is nothing unusual in this, Hungarian comrades tried to persuade us, if you recall that 50 political parties were created in the country after 1945. A process of integration will evidently begin among the new formations: The platforms of many of them are close.

The MSZMP Central Committee (and its February plenum confirmed this) supports the citizens' desire to use their political rights within the framework of the Constitution and laws. This point was enshrined in the law on the right of citizens to create unions and associations which was adopted at the last session of the Hungarian National Assembly.

The law merits separate discussion, and it is no coincidence that the Hungarian press calls it historic. We will point out only that the law allows citizens to create public organizations, political parties, trade unions, and mass movements whose aims do not run counter to existing legislation or infringe on other people's rights and freedoms.

Pluralism is also knocking at the door of the country's political life. The question of a multiparty system—which a number of alternative associations advocate—has been placed on the agenda. The MSZMP is prepared to conduct a dialogue with any alternative organizations and movements which operate within the framework of legality and recognize the existing state system and the Republic's allegiance to the system of international treaties among allies.

A truly democratic choice of paths and methods of development and the resolution of public conflicts and disputes are inconceivable without a sufficiently reliable legal basis. This is well understood in the Republic. Work has begun on revising the country's Constitution. A law on the right of citizens to hold rallies and meetings and a law on economic societies have been adopted. Draft laws on suffrage and competition have been drawn up.

Next in line are laws on parties, trade unions, the church, nationalities, the settling of public disputes, information, and civic initiative and a statute on strikes.

Although the past year has not brought a breakthrough, certain signs of improvements can be seen. According to Hungarian Central Statistics Office data, the growth in debts has slowed, inflation has been kept within the planned limits and domestic consumption has been brought into line with the potential. The government has tackled in earnest such complex problems as the modernization of the loss-making coal-extraction and metallurgical sectors. This means that it is ready to curtail production facilities and liquidate a number of enterprises.

The law on economic associations has made a weighty contribution to the model of the socialist market economy being developed in Hungary. Private and foreign capital can now operate on equal terms with state and cooperative ownership.

The result of all these transformations is to be the basis for a flowering in the economy, in society, and in politics. This is what M. Nemeth said about this in his first speech in the post of chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers: "Such a basis means a modern rule-of-law state, it means a socialist market economy and a system of institutions of socialist pluralism; it means social relations built according to the principle of mutual understanding and public solidarity."

SFRY Adopts Special Measures in Kosovo

PM0503182189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Situation in Kosovo"]

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Mar—In accordance with the instruction of the SFRY Presidency, social and political organs are rapidly and vigorously implementing special security

measures in Kosovo, TANJUG reports. The normal production process was disrupted in this autonomous province recently as a result of political strikes by citizens of Albanian nationality, entailing considerable material losses.

Additional subunits, including tanks and armored vehicles, have been transferred to Kosovo for the combined detachment of the SFRY Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs stationed there. Strict control has been imposed on all facilities of great national economic importance and restrictions have been placed on citizens' movement. Factories and plants have begun working again, schoolchildren and students have resumed classes, and stores and cafes have reopened.

As TANJUG reports, dozens of people involved in organizing political strikes have been arrested.

'Anti-Yugoslav' Policy Decried

PM0603120589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Mar 89 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Remaining Calm"]

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Mar—Belgrade radio and television report that the situation remains calm in the major cities of Kosovo. This is due to the SFRY Presidency's special measures. Cadre changes have been implemented in the autonomous province, primarily at a number of industrial enterprises whose leaders were "blocking party and state bodies' decisions" and had "actively participated in the preparation of demonstrations in Pristina in November 1988 and the organization of the political strike in February 1989."

It is now clear, the paper VECERNE NOVOSTI writes, that an anti-Yugoslav policy has been conducted for decades in Kosovo by open and underground methods. Duplicitous officials have played the leading rold, aiding separatists to further their career aims.

The political strikes in Kosovo, the press reports, have caused considerable material damage to the country's economy. According to TANJUG, losses amount to 10 billion dinars.

Zhivkov Addresses Bulgarian Intellectuals

PM2802140989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent A. Kapralov report: "Honestly and Frankly: After Meeting Between BCP Leadership and Creative Intelligentsia"]

[Text] Consultations between BCP Central Committee Politburo members and figures from art, science, culture, and education have been held before. But the meeting held this week is in a special category—both in the frankness of the discussions and the significance of the document issued at the meeting—a report from Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, entitled "Restructuring of Our Society—the Vocation and Responsibility of the Intelligentsia." The provisions of this document have received a very broad response from the Bulgarian public and the Bulgarian and foreign mass media.

The historical digressions in the report attracted the most attention. The first concerned the bitter pages of Bulgarian history preceding the BCP Central Committee April (1956) Plenum. In that period many party cadres fell victim to unjustified repression, and Traycho Kostov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, was shot, having been falsely indicted.

The second was the Stalinist repressions in the Soviet Union, which also affected Bulgarian political emigres. According to the as yet incomplete figures, more than 1,000 of the over 3,000 Bulgarian political emigres were persecuted. Of them 600 died, including such well-known figures as K. Rakovski, R. Avramov, B. Stomonyakov, and others.

The report expresses gratitude to Soviet comrades for information which they provided and for their responsive attitude to the elucidation of all the circumstances. "Our sacred duty and obligation," the report says, "is to restore the good name and honor of all Bulgarian revolutionaries."

The bulk of the document is devoted to the implementation of the strategy of the revolutionary renewal of Bulgarian society. It is necessary to concretize the new model of socialism in Bulgaria put forward by the BCP Central Committee July (1987) Plenum. It is necessary to resolve the question of the harmonious development of productive forces and production relations and the functioning of the whole social system. It is necessary to carry out a legal reform and improve distributive ratios in the differentiation of labor incomes. It is important to remove the burden of ideological prejudices, ensure broad glasnost, and to carry out restructuring in the party itself.

A national press center and the institution of government press spokesman are being created to provide better information to Bulgarian and foreign journalists in the country. The report notes that there are not and cannot be any "closed zones" for the mass media.

I think it took considerable boldness from the BCP leadership to reach the conclusion that it is necessary to renounce the formula about building a developed socialist society and its acknowledgment that only the foundations of socialism are being laid in the country today.

Both the report by the Central Committee general secretary and the opening speech at the meeting provided the starting point for a consideration of the role of the intelligentsia in the process of restructuring Bulgarian society. Only with its active support and participation

can the cause of revolutionary transformations in the country count on success. There is great work ahead in mobilizing the full potential of scientists, cultural figures, and young intellectuals.

The meeting in Sofia showed that the party's appeal to the intelligentsia and the honest and frank discussion have found an equally unequivocal response. There were 23 speakers—scientists, artists, musicians, and journalists. The exchange of opinions lasted over 10 hours. Those attending the meeting said that the most diverse viewpoints had been put forward and debated. Everyone who wanted to speak took the floor—often without preparation, without even sending a note to the presidium, but simply by raising a hand in the hall.

The atmosphere of the meeting illustrated better than ever one of the provisions of the report that problems cannot be divided into "closed" and "open"; the only criterion is truth. The discussion at the meeting, RABOTNICHESKO DELO writes, generates new thoughts, new ideas, and inspiration.

I think it is no exaggeration to say that the meeting is an important milestone on the path of restructuring in Bulgaria, the further democratization of society, and its consistent revolutionary transformation.

Polish Bodies Examine Sociopolitical Situation
PM0203143589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Mar 89 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Session of PZPR Central Committee Politburo"]

[Text] Warsaw, 1 Mar—A joint session of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and the Polish Government Presidium has been held here to analyze the sociopolitical situation in the country, the progress of the "roundtable" talks, the results of the PZPR report-back conferences in the voivodships, and the incidents in Krakow.

A report on the session published today says that the PZPR report-back conferences in the voivodships and Armed Forces acknowledged the need to strengthen the party's political unity, consolidate its ranks, and impart a new boost to ideological life in accordance with the results of the Third PZPR National Theoretical and Ideological Conference.

The resolutions of the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum and the Central Committee Politburo theses for the plenum had been the basis for lively polemic debate. The plenum's decisions were regarded as an unusually important factor for change in the life of the party.

Participants in the voivodship conferences had often expressed misgivings regarding the consequences of the continuing unrest, strikes, and demands for wage increases that are not backed up by better results in the country's economic activity. People talked indignantly about demonstrations by aggressive groups of young people that turned into street riots combined with acts of vandalism and anti-Soviet outbursts. Extremists' attempts to involve school pupils in provocative political actions and riots gave rise to particularly sharp protests. The conference delegates had pointed out that this path does not lead to national accord. These are not the methods to create a new democratic, political, and social order in the country. The delegates had demanded that the laws be observed unequivocally and supported the government's steps to counteract violations of order and tranquility. The report said that the Politburo completely shared the stance of the PZPR report-back conferences.

Complex debates and the creation of forms of pluralism must be accompanied by precise and effective activity on the part of all state structures and institutes and the economic and local administration, the PZPR Central Committee Politburo pointed out.

Communique Issued on Ceausescu-Khamene'i Talks
PM2702153589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
27 Feb 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Romanian-Iranian Communique"]

[Text] Bucharest, 26 Feb—In the course of their talks N. Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and S. 'Ali Khamene'i, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, have expressed themselves in favor of curbing the arms race; banning the production, proliferation, and stockpiling of nuclear and chemical weapons; and eliminating all means of mass annihilation.

A joint communique on the results of S. 'Ali Khamene'i's official visit to Romania stresses the need for the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 598, which calls for an end to hostilities between Iran and Iraq. Both sides pointed out the importance of the withdrawal of troops beyond internationally recognized borders and the continuation of talks with a view to resolving existing problems between the two countries and establishing a just and lasting peace in the region.

Romania and Iran, the communique points out, welcomed the measures on settling the situation in Afghanistan. The presidents expressed themselves in favor of a united, independent, and nonaligned Afghanistan whose people should be able to decide their destiny without any outside interference.

Tolstykh, CSSR's Hrivnak View Scientific Ties
PM0103143189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Conversation Held"]

[Text] B.L. Tolstykh, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, received P.

Hrivnak, first deputy chairman of the CSSR Government and chairman of the CSSR State Commission for Research and Development and Investment Planning, on 28 February.

The state of and prospects for USSR-CSSR scientific and technical cooperation were examined in the course of the conversation.

CPSU Delegation Studies SED Experience

PM2702121189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Exchange of Experience"]

[Text] Under the plan for CPSU-SED interparty ties a delegation of CPSU party workers headed by V.N. Krikhunov, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Party Building and Cadre Work Department, visited the GDR 20-25 February to familiarize itself with the work experience of SED party organizations at communists' places of residence.

The delegation was received by H. Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee.

Yazov Greets GDR's Kessler on Army Day

PM0303110989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Mar 89 First Edition p 1

[USSR Defense Minister Yazov greetings to GDR Minister of National Defense H. Kessler on GDR Army anniversary]

[Text] To Army General Comrade Heinz Kessler, GDR minister of national defense:

Esteemed Comrade Minister!

On the occasion of the 33d anniversary of the National People's Army I send you and all GDR servicemen cordial congratulations and fraternal combat greetings on behalf of the Soviet Armed Forces and myself personally.

Soviet servicemen are profoundly convinced that the all-around, dynamic development of friendly relations between the USSR Armed Forces and the National People's Army accords with the interests of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the GDR and represents an important contribution to the cause of ensuring peace and security on the European Continent.

I wish the personnel of the GDR National People's Army new successes in strengthening the defense capability of their motherland and of the fraternal alliance of the Warsaw Pact member states.

May the indestructible friendship and cooperation between our countries' peoples and armies strengthen and flourish!

With communist greetings,

Army General D. Yazov, USSR minister of defense

West Europe

Spain's Fernandez-Ordonez Concludes Visit

Meets With Gorbachev

PM0503175789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Mar 89 Second Edition p 1

["M.S. Gorbachev's Meeting With F. Fernandez-Ordonez"]

[Text] Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev met on Friday with Spanish Foreign Minister Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez. The Spanish minister's visit is being viewed in the Soviet Union as yet another important link in the Soviet-Spanish political dialogue, which is acquiring an increasingly regular character.

Fernandez-Ordonez handed a personal message to Gorbachev from the head of the Spanish Government, Felipe Gonzalez.

Gorbachev welcomed the content and the spirit of the message, which continues the fruitful exchange of views started during the Spanish prime minister's visit to the Soviet Union in 1986.

In the Soviet Union, he said, people greatly respect Spain and have profound feelings of friendship toward the people in that country. For us Spain is an independent factor in European and world politics. We value very much the fact that our relations are developing dynamically, while all issues are being handled in the spirit of openness, trust, and respect for each other's positions.

Fernandez-Ordonez emphasized that the Spanish people had an immense interest in and sympathy for the changes taking place in the Soviet Union. They express their sincere wishes for the success of restructuring, whose consequences are of great importance not only for the Soviet Union, but for the world at large.

The interlocutors gave proper attention to all-European affairs. Gorbachev noted that European states are privileged partners for the Soviet Union—given all the importance of other directions in its foreign policy. We have common roots, a common history, and long-standing traditions of ties. Europe has accumulated an invaluable potential of cooperation in politics, economics, and in the intellectual sphere.

Europe can have a weighty say in favor of the unfolding positive processes in the current, crucial period of international development. No one can replace Europe in this.

The interlocutors agreed that it is necessary to utilize the favorable situation now developing in Europe to defuse confrontation and advance the talks on disarmament.

It is necessary to avoid steps that could hinder the improvement of the situation on the continent and the development of mutually beneficial cooperation between East and West Europe.

Fernandez-Ordonez confirmed the earlier invitation to Gorbachev to visit Spain. Gorbachev said he has the desire and firm intention to visit that country.

The Soviet leader and the Spanish minister were unanimous that Soviet-Spanish relations were undergoing a positive period in their development and had good prospects.

The conversation was marked by amicability and broad mutual understanding on key issues of European politics and bilateral cooperation.

Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, took part in the conversation.

Talks With Shevardnadze

PM0503181589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5

["Soviet-Spanish Talks"]

[Text] Talks were held on 3 March between E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, and F. Fernandez-Ordonez, Spain's minister of foreign affairs.

In a spirit of open and constructive dialogue characteristic of Soviet-Spanish contacts, there was a detailed examination of matters relating to bilateral relations as well as topical problems concerning the current international situation. Practical aspects of problems concerning security and disrmament, USSR-EEC contacts, and Soviet-Spanish bilateral relations were also discussed in working groups set up for this purpose.

Both sides noted with satisfaction the invigoration and expansion of Soviet-Spanish relations in the political, trade, economic, scientific-technical, and cultural spheres. It was noted that in recent years success has been achieved in filling Soviet-Spanish cooperation with substantial material content and creating solid groundwork for the future in a number of areas.

It was deemed expedient to deepen the useful practice of working consultations between the foreign ministries of the two countries especially on questions relating to disarmament, European problems, and the situations in various parts of the world. The prospects for the development of consular links, including the opening of consular establishments, were considered in a constructive spirit within the context of the Vienna accords.

The desire was expressed for further improving the legal treaty basis of bilateral relations. It was deemed expedient to begin the preparation of a consular convention and agreements on legal mutual assistance and the reciprocal protection of capital investments.

The sides expressed support for the further expansion and improvement of trade and economic relations, noting the importance of making all-around use of the opportunities being opened up by the restructuring of foreign economic activity in the Soviet Union. In an examination of ways of intensifying economic cooperation and developing new forms of it, special accent was placed on joint enterprises as a promising area of economic cooperation. A number of such enterprises have already been set up. The first of them—for the production of "Telur" communications equipment—has already started to produce output.

Both sides intend to promote the development of cooperation in the field of ecology, science and technology, and fishing. Work is being completed on an agreement on cooperation in the field of tourism.

In recent years cultural exchanges between the USSR and Spain have acquired a dynamic and diverse character. The ministers experessed themselves in favor of their further diversification and the expansion of links between the creative intelligentsia of the two countries.

In an exchange of opinions on international problems, both sides gave a detailed analysis of the present situation in the world and the prospects for its development. E.A. Shevardnadze stressed the Soviet Union's resolve to secure a radical change in world affairs and vigorously assist the establishment of the new political thinking. A course has been set toward using exclusively political means in order to remove tension and to untie the knots of international contradictions by means of dialogue, talks, and a search for reasonable compromises. The latest foreign policy initiatives and specific steps of the USSR are moving in this direction.

F. Fernandez-Ordonez stated that Spain is conducting a policy in favor of improvement in the international climate, and of strengthening mutual trust and cooperation in Europe and beyond its boundaries. He stressed that political will, daring, and realism are essential for solving the problems of the present day.

The interlocutors devoted special attention to issues pertaining to disarmament and increasing security in Europe, and developing European policy in conditions of reductions in the level of military confrontation on that continent.

The subject of the talks to open in Vienna in the next few days on conventional armed forces and measures to increase confidence and security in Europe were discussed in a practical way. It was stressed by both sides that they regard these talks as a most important step toward nonoffensive defense, whereby the military potentials of the sides will not have a capacity for a sudden attack or for conducting large-scale offensive operations.

Powerful political impetuses will be needed in order to actively advance the talks and the entire all-European process. In this connection, the question of the desirability of conducting an all-European summit after some time was discussed in a positive manner.

Both ministers said they favored a radical reduction in strategic offensive armaments and an early completion of work on a convention for a total ban and the destruction of chemical weapons.

In connection with the fact that Spain is chairing the Council of the European Community for the current 6-month period, an in-depth and concrete exchange of opinions was conducted on the further development of political dialogue and the expansion of contacts between the USSR and the EC. The structure and basic content of a future USSR-EC agreement on trade and cooperation were discussed in detail.

The great significance was stressed of the forthcoming consultations in Moscow with the "troika" of leaders of the political departments of the Foreign Ministries of Spain, Greece, and France who represent the mechanism of political cooperation of the European Community.

In conditions of affirming new approaches to regional conflicts, which reject the use of force to solve them, the ministers spoke in favor of stepping up collective efforts to unblock the seats of tension remaining in the world by exclusively political means.

Noting with satisfaction the emergence of encouraging moves in the situation in the Middle East, they expressed the conviction of the need to increase efforts to prepare for the convocation of an international conference for a political settlement to the conflict in that region. The most important thing today is to move toward practical work and to get the negotiating process underway.

There was a useful exchange of views on ways of overcoming the tension that has arisen between the Western countries and Iran.

E.A. Shevardnadze set forth an appraisal of the situation in and around Afghanistan since completion of the Soviet troop withdrawal from that country. He stressed that the only possible path toward an Afghan settlement is national reconciliation. The Soviet Union has kept its word. All those who likewise put their signature to the Geneva agreements must keep their word.

F. Fernandez-Ordonez voiced understanding of the Soviet standpoint on this issue. He stated that all participants in the conflict should show restraint and strive toward averting violence in the country and solving internal Afghan problems by means of dialogue.

The situation in Central America and in several other regions of the world was also discussed.

In the opinion of both sides, the conversation of M.S. Gorbachev with the Spanish foreign minister and the talks that have taken place have significantly enriched Soviet-Spanish relations and have marked out the subject reference points for their further development.

E.A. Shevardnadze and F. Fernandez-Ordonez signed a treaty between the USSR and Spain on social provision for working people. The treaty provides pension rights to citizens of both countries, regardless of which country they worked in. The importance of this political and humane act, which bears witness to the new quality of Soviet-Spanish cooperation, based on the ideas of an interconnected and integral world, was stressed on both sides.

I.I. Gladkiy, chairman of the State Commission of the USSR for Labor and Social Problems, was present at the signing.

Addressing a news conference at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center in the evening, the Spanish foreign minister termed the Spanish-Soviet talks in Moscow as fruitful. He stressed that a qualitative improvement in relations between the two countries is being observed.

During the meeting with M.S. Gorbachev, the visitor said, we had a political dialogue that lasted 90 minutes. There was an exchange of opinions on questions of the international situation and the European process. We heard with satisfaction a report on the reforms being carried out in the USSR in the political, economic, and legal spheres.

In the Spanish minister's opinion, his talks with the USSR foreign minister were imbued with a spirit of mutual understanding. They touched on a broad range of issues of bilateral relations and a number of topical international problems. As a result, a convention on social security was signed. It is planned to sign an agreement on tourism soon. Economic cooperation is expanding. Five joint ventures are currently operating and another 10 are in prospect. An exchange of visits by ministers of defense, tourism, and industry is planned.

The sides, the minister said, have had a useful exchange of opinions on questions of disarmament and recognized the need for its progress. This applies first and foremost to chemical, nuclear, and space weapons. There was an analysis of the solution of regional conflicts—in the Near East, Central America, and Afghanistan.

The Spanish minister thanked the Soviet side for the friendly and cordial reception extended to him in the USSR.

On the same day F. Fernandez-Ordonez laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier by the Kremlin wall.

Gorbachev To Visit Spain

LD0303140689 Madrid Domestic Service in Spanish 1300 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] We now have a report from our correspondent in Moscow on the details of the meeting between Spanish Foreign Minister Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez and Soviet leader Gorbachev. As we said in the headlines, it has been announced that Gorbachev will visit Spain in the first few months of 1990. Luis Serrano in Moscow reports on other agreements reached at this meeting:

[Begin Serrano recording] Mikhail Gorbachev will pay a state visit to Spain in the first few months of 1990—this has just been announced in Moscow by Spanish Foreign Minister Fransisco Fernandez-Ordonez, who met this morning with the Soviet leader. Fernandez Ordonez was alone with Gorbachev, Shevardndze, and a Soviet interpreter, without any other Spaniard having access to the conversation. Although it is the foreign minister's custom not to reveal the contents of his conversations with heads of state, he did say that the conversation centered on restructuring. Spain and the Soviet Union have drawn up a wide-ranging program of contacts in the immediate future, and forthcoming official visits to Moscow will be paid by the ministers of defense, transport, industry, and perhaps, culture. Two agreements will be drawn up: one on consular matters and another on tourism, and in an hour the bilateral agreement on pensions will be signed, an agreement which for the USSR, according to a statement by Shevardnadze, is the only one of its kind.

The case of the British writer Rushdie was mentioned during the talks, but according to Fernandez-Ordonez, Shevardnadze did not offer to mediate between Iran and the EEC.

As president of the EEC, Fernandez-Ordonez placed the future trade agreement with Moscow in the framework of Europe's future configuration, which in the view of the EEC should include all the blocs: that of the Mediterranean countries; the European Free Trade Association, the socialist or Eastern bloc, and the European Community. [end recording]

Fernandez-Ordonez Holds News Conference

LD0303174589 Moscow TASS in English 1654 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 3 TASS—Relations between Spain and the Soviet Union show a qualitative improvement, the Spanish foreign minister told a news conference here on Friday.

Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez, in the USSR on an official visit at the invitation of the Soviet Government, described his 1.5-hour conversation with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev as "cordial."

They discussed various international problems, specifically, European development.

The minister expressed satisfaction with the information he obtained during the meeting about political, economic and legal reforms currently being implemented in the Soviet Union.

He disclosed that Gorbachev will visit Spain early next year.

The Spanish minister observed that his talks in Moscow dwelt on issues of bilateral relations in the sphere of political contacts, economy and other areas.

Agreement was reached to exchange visits by the ministers of defence, tourism and industry.

The sides also discussed disarmament prospects in the light of the Warsaw Pact-NATO talks starting in Vienna on March 6.

In Spain's opinion, the minister said, their objective is to achieve balance and security at the lower levels of armed forces and armaments.

He stressed the need for advancement on issues of banning chemical weapons, and at talks on nuclear and space arms.

In considering the Middle East situation, Fernandez-Ordonez said, both sides agreed that there emerged real opportunities for making first steps towards peace.

The talks produced a positive assessment of the results of the meeting of five Central American presidents in El Salvador and stressed the need for eradicating social and economic causes of the central European crisis.

Asked by journalists about the role the Soviet Union could play in settling the situation connected with Salman Rushdie's book, the minister replied that Eduard Shevardnadze informed him on this issue and that he himself set out the viewpoint of the European Community.

Departs Moscow 4 Mar

LD0403114189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 4 Mar 89

[Text] Spanish Foreign Minister Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez left the Soviet Union today. He was in our country on an official visit at the invitation of the Soviet

Government. He was seen off at the airport by Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, and by other officials.

Comments on Visit

LD0403200289 Moscow TASS in English 1928 GMT 4 Mar 89

[Text] Madrid March 4 TASS—"We have done very fruitful work," stated Spanish Foreign Minister Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez who returned to Madrid from Moscow on Saturday following his official visit to the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

All subjects both bilateral and international as well as matters concerning the European Economic Community were discussed during the talks which were held in an atmosphere of exceptional cordiality with great mutual understanding and the depth of the discussion of matters, Fernandez-Ordonez said.

"We prepared a good programme for work for the entire year, mapped out a calendar for visits, including a state visit to Spain by Soviet Leader Mikhail Gorbachev in the first months of next year. A treaty between the Soviet Union and Spain on social maintenance of people was signed, and various other agreements were prepared".

Fernandez-Ordonez pointed out the Soviet leader's "conviction, determination and optimism" when he was telling the guest about the process of transformations taking place in the Soviet Union.

"During the meeting we touched upon all problems concerning Europe now in a broad sense of the word—the European Economic Community, the countries of the 'free trade zone', the countries of Eastern Europe, the European countries of the Mediterranean, and the Soviet Union. We had an opportunity to touch upon the forthcoming talks, opening in Vienna, on conventional armed forces and on confidence- and security-building measures in Europe".

The talks are of historic significance, the Spanish foreign minister emphasised. They signify the beginning of a major cut in the military arsenals in Europe. We regard them with hope: There are proposals on a unilateral reduction in the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union, and important proposals by NATO member-states.

Gorbachev Talks With Italian Communists

PM0303095889 Milan L'UNITA in Italian 1 Mar 89 p 4

[Sergio Sergi dispatch: "I Love Italy; I Remember It Well"]

[Text] Moscow—"I am really pleased to see you again...." At 1100 precisely Achille Occhetto entered the CPSU general secretary's reception room, accompanied by Antonio Rubbi and Giuseppe Boffa. Having exchanged a few remarks with journalists ("What a lot of Italians there are!") Gorbachev, who was already there waiting, approached and embraced him, rather moved. Occhetto went on: "I really am happy, and you look younger to me after your endeavors and successes. They really do seem to be doing you good." Gorbachev laughed heartily; greeted and embraced Rubbi, the PCI's foreign relations chief and an old acquaintance; and shook hands warmly with Boffa, Foreign Policy Studies Center chairman, and told him: "I have read what you write!"

The time had come for the talks between the two delegations to start. However, the CPSU general secretary did not want to disappoint the reporters and, looking at Occhetto, said: "The fact that there are so many journalists here provides an opportunity not to be missed to address cordial remarks to the Italian people." He paused, then added: "I love Italy; I have been there and I remember it well. It is a good thing that relations between our two peoples have become very good now." Mr Gorbachev, what has happened to the conference of communist parties? Gorbachev seemed, at first sight, surprised by such a question. He smiled, shrugged his shoulders, and said: "Now we're going to talk, then Comrade Occhetto will tell you all about it." Immediately afterward, however, he added, significantly: "I believe communist parties are the representatives of the workers' interests, but the world workers movement needs to regenerate itself. Everything in the world is changing, and consequently the face of the workers movement's political expressions must match these changes." Gorbachev added that "socialist thinking is needed in building the new world." He said twice: "I believe this." He also stressed that "our action will depend on the political methods with which the workers forge history."

General Secretary Gorbachev, what is your assessment of the election campaign in the USSR? "Very interesting, though it is still too early to draw any conclusions. Even now, however, it can be said that the country has changed profoundly. These really are elections of a new kind. True, there has been some confusion, but the important thing is that people have mobilized." What does the general secretary think of Academician Sakharov (the Nobel Prize winner who controversially relinquished his candidacy– L'UNITA editor's note)? "Academician Sakharov now has every opportunity to take part in social life, to write, to express his opinions, to travel abroad, and to maintain contacts with whomever he likes. This is a time that demands greater responsibility from everyone." This is how the series of exchanges ended. Gorbachev invited his guests and aides to sit down at the table. The secretaries sat opposite one another. On his left Gorbachev had his "personal assistant," Anatoliy Chernyayev, and on his right Politburo member and Central Committee Foreign Affairs Commission chief Aleksandr Yakovlev and International Department chief Valentin Falin. Opposite, Occhetto was flanked by Rubbi, Boffa, and Massimo de Angelis.

Before the talks began Gorbachev opened his briefcase and, turning to the Italian Communist Party [PCI] secretary general, said: "I have received a very cordial letter from Comrade Natta. Please convey my greetings to him. Actually, I was wondering how to reply. Well... I have here a copy in French of my speech to the United Nations." The booklet was passed to Occhetto, who saw that the cover carried a handwritten signature. A souvenir copy, Gorbachev said, "for you too, Comrade Occhetto." The PCI secretary replied: "I thank you also on Mr Natta's behalf. He believes our meeting is a very good thing, another step forward in mutual understanding. Before I left for Moscow Comrade Natta told me he hoped it would be possible to continue the dialogue fruitfully begun at your previous meetings." Gorbachev nodded: "I believe Mr Natta's wish can be shared." Then the journalists were asked to leave. There was barely time to catch Gorbachev's opening remark: "So, all we have to do is start: Now, where are we?" International topics formed the starting point.

Dobrynin, Voss Receive Outgoing Italian Envoy

LD2702061989 Moscow TASS in English 1806 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 24 TASS—Chairman of the Council of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet Avgust Voss today received Italy's Ambassador to the USSR Sergio Romano in connection with his departure for home.

On the same day Sergio Romano paid a visit to Anatoliy Dobrynin, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Vadim Zagladin, secretary of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

French Foreign Ministry Official Received

PM0303115189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 1 March Yu.M. Vorontsov and A.A. Bessmertnykh received C. Martin, director of the French Foreign Ministry Asia and Oceania Department, who has come to Moscow for a working exchange of opinions in the USSR Foreign Ministry, and Y. Pagniez, French ambassador to the USSR.

They touched on questions connected with an Afghan settlement. The Soviet side noted that the armed opposition's gamble on the violent seizure of power and the overthrow of the legitimate government in Kabul is hopeless and will lead only to new casualties and destruction. The solution of internal Afghan problems by peaceful means, through peaceful dialogue with the participation of all political forces including, of course, the Afghan Government, is sensible and accords with the interests of the entire Afghan people.

On the same day C. Martin had a meeting with USSR Deputy Foreign Minister I.A. Rogachev during which there was a discussion of a Cambodian settlement, the situation on the Korean peninsula, and other problems of the Asia-Pacific region.

Ambassador Thanks French for Aid to Armenia

PM0203165389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Mar 89 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Confirming Long-Standing Friendship"]

[Text] Paris, 28 Feb—The Armenian tragedy, which was a calamity for the entire Soviet people, touched the hearts of people on all continents, and the provision of aid to the victims of the appalling earthquake was a matter of honor for everyone who values humanist ideals. Such was the general opinion of all those present at a meeting of participants in the French aid program to Armenia held at the USSR Embassy in Paris. They included Pierre Joxe, minister of the interior; Paul Quiles, minister of posts, telecommunications, and space; Andre Lajoinie, member of the French Communist Party [PCF] Politburo and secretary of the PCF Central Committee; Roland Leroy, political director of L'HUMANITE; and representatives of political parties, social organizations, religious circles, and the Armenian community in France.

On behalf of the Soviet Government and the entire Soviet people Ya.P. Ryabov, USSR ambassador to France, expressed heartfelt gratitude and appreciation to President Francois Mitterrand of France, the French Government, and all the French people for their sympathy, solidarity, and all-around help in connection with the natural disaster in Armenia.

As is well known, it was from French soil just a few hours after the tragedy struck that the first aircraft took off taking a group of rescue workers and doctors to the disaster zone with the equipment needed to help the victims. Thanks to the courage and selflessness of French rescue workers, many dozens of people were successfully saved. Many millions of francs were collected in France to buy essential goods, medical equipment and apparatus, and various medicines. Special rolling stock, convoys of trucks, and dozens of special aircraft were sent. French Communists collected hundreds of thousands of francs from the issue of a solidarity postcard and a special edition of L'HUMANITE. The French Socialist Party also sent a special plane to Armenia. The Soviet Embassy continues to receive many dozens of remittances for various sums from different French cities and departments.

This very extensive assistance to the earthquake victims is eloquent confirmation of the long-standing relations of friendship and solidarity between the peoples of France and the Soviet Union, P. Joxe stated. On the government's behalf he expressed a high appreciation of the efforts of the French rescue workers, who, working in close coordination with the Soviet side, showed great skill and selflessness in severe conditions. Now France is prepared to participate in restoration work to deal with the aftermath of the earthquake, P. Joxe stressed.

Petrovskiy Receives Norwegian Ambassador

PM0303115989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
3 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 1 March USSR Deputy Foreign Minister V.F. Petrovskiy received Norwegian Ambassador O. Bucher Johanessen at the latter's request. The ambassador handed over messages from Norwegian Prime Minister G.H. Brundtland to N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and V.A. Masol, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers, and M.V. Kovalev, chairman of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers.

Swedish Businessmen Discuss Agro-Industrial Ties

PM0103142389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
28 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Exchange of Opinions"]

[Text] On 27 February V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom, received H. Rausing, chairman of the board of Sweden's Tetra Pak group of companies.

There was an exchange of opinions on the course of and prospects for cooperation between Tetra Pak and Soviet organizations in the agro-industrial complex sphere.

Swedes Plan Finland Pipeline for Soviet Gas

PM0303164389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
3 Mar 89 Second Edition p 7

[Own correspondent Yu. Kuznetsov report: "Increasing Gas Supplies"]

[Text] Helsinki, 2 Mar—It emerges from statements by representatives of Swedish business circles that a program is being elaborated in Stockholm to supply the country with natural gas by importing it from neighboring states. B. Wallenberg, managing director of the Swedegas firm, reported recently that gas supplies to Sweden will be carried by a pipeline across the sea from Finland.

For many years now gas has been supplied to Finland from the USSR via a pipeline built for the Finnish company Neste with Soviet participation. According to the Swedish businessman, his firm is negotiating with representatives of "Soyuzgazeksport" on a contract for gas supplies via Finland—the amount in question is 2 billion cubic meters a year. B. Wallenberg noted that one condition of the extension of the pipeline to Finland's western coast is its financing by Neste and the latter's participation in laying the gas pipelines across the sea to Sweden. For their part Finnish businessmen note that the construction of the pipeline to Finland's western coast is in that country's interests because it affords an opportunity to supply gas to a whole series of regions there. The negotiations—with Neste and with the Soviet organizations—are only just beginning, but Wallenberg has expressed the hope that agreements may be signed by the end of this year.

Bessmertnykh Meets Turkish-Soviet Delegation

PM0303105189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
3 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 2 March USSR First Deputy Foreign Minister A.A. Bessmertnykh received a delegation from the Turkish-Soviet business council headed by its chairman, N. Gekigit.

V. Vural, Turkish ambassador to the USSR, took part in the talk.

Cultural Exchange Protocol With Turkey Signed

LD0103215789 Moscow TASS in English 2010 GMT
1 Mar 89

[Text] Ankara March 1 TASS—A programme of cultural and scientific exchanges for 1989-1990 signed here on Wednesday provides for developing further cooperation between the USSR and Turkey in cultural, education, sport, science and technology.

Cultural and scientific relations between the Soviet Union and Turkey are growing in diversity and scope with every passing year, P. Tacar, director general of the culture department of the Turkish Foreign Ministry, told TASS. He added that the programme signed on Wednesday would be another important move towards strengthening relations between the two countries.

The document provides for a regular exchange of specialists in education, sport, music groups, fine art exhibitions, films as well as organisation of festivals of culture. According to Tacar, all this will help the two nations to learn each other better and will contribute to the development of Soviet-Turkish relations as a whole.

Trade Union Delegation Holds Talks in FRG

LD2502221389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1125 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Duesseldorf, 24 Feb (TASS)—TASS correspondent Gennadiy Kulbitskyi reports:

Contemporary issues of the future development and improvement of relations between the trade unions of the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic were discussed during the visit of the Soviet trade union delegation to the FRG headed by Stepan Shalayev, the chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, which was completed today.

The Soviet trade union delegation held talks in Duesseldorf with the delegation of the Federation of German Trade Unions, headed by its Chairman Ernst Breit. As has been noted in the federation's press section report distributed here, the attention of those taking part in the talks focused on the participation of trade unions in the economic and social lives of both countries. At the same time, significant attention was devoted to the widescale transformations taking place in the Soviet Union in all spheres of life, the realization of which are allotted an important role by the trade unions.

The trade union leaders of the Soviet Union and the FRG emphasized their intention to continue holding joint meetings between experts to discuss the problems of protecting the environment, the social aspects of using new technologies in industry, and questions on the participation of factory and office workers—specifically, of trade unions—in the management of production.

In addition to holding meetings between youth and women's organizations of the trade unions of the USSR and the FRG, it is also planned to stage a festival of the arts of the industrial region of the Soviet town of Donetsk in 1990.

During the conversations, the Soviet side expressed the conviction that contacts between the trade unions of the two countries make an important contribution to improving relations between the USSR and the FRG and to deepening mutual understanding between the peoples of both countries.

The Soviet trade union delegation visited a center for raising the qualifications of members of the Federation of German Trade Unions as well as one of the scientific institutes of one of the largest chemical concerns in the FRG, Bauer. Meetings and conversations with representatives of the working people of the FRG were held.

Envoy to UK Signs Oil Shipping Convention

LD0203215889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1543 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Excerpt] London, 2 Mar (TASS)—In accordance with the decision of the USSR Council of Ministers and on behalf of the USSR, Leonid Zamyatin, USSR ambassador in Great Britain, today signed the international convention on stopping illegal acts against the security of shipping and a protocol guaranteeing the security of oil-producing installations and oil platforms of 10 March 1988. These documents were also signed on behalf of the Belorussian SSR and the Ukrainian SSR on instructions from their government. The ceremony took place in the headquarters of the International Maritime Organization in London. [passage omitted]

Political & Social

Zaykov Delivers Moscow CPSU Election Report

PM2802080189 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jan 89 pp 1, 2, 3

["Report by the Moscow CPSU Gorkom" delivered by L.N. Zaykov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom, at 20 January session of the 27th Moscow City CPSU Organization Conference in the House of Unions Hall of Columns in Moscow, carried under the general heading: "Energy of Thoughts and Specific Deeds for Revolutionary Restructuring"]

[Text] Comrade delegates!

The conference of the Moscow City CPSU organization concludes the report and election campaign within the party. The report and election campaign confirmed with renewed force the determination of the capital's communists to firmly pursue the line of society's revolutionary transformation, launched by the party in April 1985.

The essence of this line, the essence of restructuring itself at its present stage is to implement the plans, to translate into practical deeds the principled decisions made over the last few years by the party as a whole and by the Moscow city organization. Today the solution of all practical questions must be subordinated to work on restructuring, and all programs, individual measures, and the entire content and style of party work must conform with it. End results are the main criterion for evaluating Communists' activity.

It is especially important to emphasize this right now, when new developments in life are still closely intertwined with the old, when there is occasionally inexperience of work in rapidly changing conditions, when the working people's expectations of tangible and practical results from restructuring and its benefits for people are becoming stronger and more persistent with each passing day.

Communists and working people in the country, we all—while appraising the socioeconomic situation with the utmost frankness—are unanimous on the main point: The party is master of the situation. Our movement forward has begun. Evidence of this can be seen in last year's results—the national income and labor productivity growth rates are higher than before. This clearly displays the results of the new economic thinking, of the party's bold strategy for national economic restructuring.

Work on this vast scale demanded, without any exaggeration, the utmost exertion of all of society's material potential. And yet the party chose this complex historical moment for a decisive social reorientation of our economy. The country has managed to find resources to boost medicine and education, it has sought out additional opportunities to ensure the steady growth of housing construction.

A tendency toward improvements has also emerged in these most important spheres. The production of a number of commodities and foodstuffs and the sale of services to the population have increased somewhat. These, Comrades, are real steps in restructuring which people have noticed, and it is incumbent on us Communists to translate them into a confident and onward advance.

In the new and complex conditions of economic accountability and self-financing, millions of people are persistently learning to act as befits people who are masters of their country. Hence our extremely principled assessment of what has been achieved: We could have achieved more than has been done hitherto. The people know that this can be done only along the path of restructuring, on which we have embarked at the party's initiative.

The achievement of the goals set in the economic and social spheres is impossible without a renewed and profound reform of the political system. This unity of approaches alone is capable of fully revealing the potential of socialist democracy and involving the whole people in the transformating processes whose irreversibility they advocate with the utmost clarity.

Look at the amazing changes in the political and moral atmosphere in our society, especially since the 19th party conference. The nationwide determination to implement its directives has imparted purpose, depth, and dynamism to restructuring. There has been an immeasurable growth of the party's role as political vanguard of the Soviet people, who are building their strong and rich socialist rule-of-law state.

We are aware of the responsible role assigned to the Moscow city party organization, one of the party's largest and most authoritative organizations, for the fate of restructuring. Moscow's importance is determined by the mighty intellectual, scientific, and industrial potential concentrated here, by the large-scale tasks of economic and social development being resolved by Muscovites.

The attention paid by the CPSU Central Committee and the entire country to Moscow as our motherland's political center and to the way matters here progress makes it incumbent on us to evaluate the results of our work even more critically, to reveal existing problems and shortcomings boldly, and to persistently seek out and bring into operation the considerable reserves and potential at the capital's disposal. So it is perfectly logical for the city's Communists to feel today an acute sense of dissatisfaction with what has been achieved.

During the period of stagnation, an atmosphere deprived of the oxygen of democracy and glasnost and saturated with ostentation, window dressing, and dual morality penetrated all pores of the city organism and led to the buildup of a vast number of problems demanding immediate solution in the capital. This was openly and bluntly said at the previous, 26th city party conference.

That conference, held in a spirit of principled demandingness and implacability, adopted an expanded program for action to fundamentally improve the situation within the city party organization and outlined a range of paramount socioeconomic problems that we had to work to resolve. What had to be done first and foremost was to break the shackles of social apathy, awaken creative energy, and orient people toward creative and intensive labor.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo actively supported this stance taken by the city conference and adopted a resolution on the basis of its results. Priority avenues for the city's socioeconomic development were defined.

A good start was made. Muscovites ardently supported the planned course and actively got down to work. The Moscow Gorispolkom and the city Trade Union Council awoke from their lethargic slumber; virtually their entire leadership was replaced and the basic management links were consolidated.

But the party Gorkom Bureau lacked the ability to engage in painstaking, systematic, and consistent work. The result of the attempt to solve all problems in one fell swoop, on the march, as it were, was that party and soviet organs became increasingly bogged down in routine work while the gorkom lacked both the wisdom and the courage to face up to the truth.

Large promises without any economic basis, like, for example, those to create ideal working and living conditions in every one of Moscow's enterprises within 2 years, to put an end to communal apartments, and to renew the entire material and technical base of transportation, health care, and the trade network proved simply unrealistic.

The 26 programs for the development of the city's economy, correct in their conception and orientation, were not interlinked, did not combine territorial and sectoral interests, and were not based on scientific study or on real economic possibilities.

And even though a lot was said, as in the past, about the need to affirm collegiality and democratism in work, the party Gorkom Bureau and its secretaries slid increasingly into willful methods of leadership.

The inability to deliver what had been promised led to yet another shakeup of cadres, which naturally stifled initiative, generated a sense of fear and uncertainty among party and soviet leaders, and essentially resulted in bringing restructuring in the city to a standstill.

The Moscow CPSU Gorkom 11 November 1987 Plenum, in whose work many of our conference delegates took part, drew the necessary conclusions from the harsh lessons of the distortion of restructuring policy in Moscow.

The gorkom members unanimously condemned the unhelpful style of leadership which ran contrary to the meaning of restructuring, the lack of collegiality and consultation with the party aktiv and party raykoms, and the divergence between word and action. It was unambiguously and firmly said that any underestimation of realities and any leaps over stages of restructuring are impermissible. The plenum emphasized that the essence of party work lies in relying on the masses, not in playing up to them.

The plenum participants declared that the Moscow city party organization had been and would remain the party Central Committee's reliable mainstay in the exceptionally complex work on our society's restructuring!

Practical action by the city's Communists last year proved that these were no empty words. Moscow's working class and intelligentsia worked hard on the implementation of the program for society's renewal, as elaborated by the party.

One of the important results of the initial years of restructuring is the sharp upsurge of people's social and political activeness, which has literally blown social apathy to bits.

The all-union party conference led us to a new level in interpreting the processes of restructuring, with its innovatively creative spirit and the scope and boldness of its political decisions. The conference's ideas laid reliable foundations for ensuring that party committees master political methods of leadership, and it created the necessary preconditions for expanding democratism and glasnost, establishing new mutual relations with soviet and economic organs, separating their functions, and rousing the masses to struggle against bureaucratism.

The city's party collectives are showing more political sense, professional efficiency, and practicality. This was demonstrated during the report and election campaign. This campaign demonstrated the extremely rich potential for thought and action at the disposal of the capital's party organization.

More than 420,000 criticisms and constructive suggestions were made during the report and election campaign. Let me add that rayon conferences produced

about 4,500 of them, including over 200 addressed to the party gorkom and a number of suggestions addressed to the CPSU Central Committee.

It was important that the voice of nonparty comrades was heard loud and clear at the Communists' report and election meetings. This was a vivid manifestation of the primordial force awakened among the people by restructuring, of the desire and potential of each and every member of society to really join in implementing the party policy and feel genuine masters of the enterprise, rayon, city, and country.

The nomination of candidates for people's deputy and the atmosphere at election campaign meetings also testify that Muscovites are vitally interested in electing as deputies those who enjoy prestige among the people and stand firmly on the positions of socialist renewal, people who can think in a state fashion and are capable of upholding the **policy of renewal.**

The Central Committee address to the party and the Soviet people, which outlines the CPSU's political program for the election campaign, says it accurately and clearly: Restructuring must be protected, and the main point is to energetically and consistently advance it.

Comrades!

The party gorkom's report is based on the theses which were discussed in a principled and demanding fashion at the Moscow CPSU Gorkom plenum. The report takes into account the remarks of all comrades who spoke and the suggestions sent in by Muscovites. This is another sign of the times.

The capital's Communists have entrusted us delegates to the 27th Moscow party conference with summing up the collective experience and laying down a program of action for switching restructuring in the city onto the tracks of practical deeds. Muscovites expect from our conference effective solutions which will make it possible to make serious headway in implementing the course of radically renewing all society's life, as mapped out by the party, and to achieve tangible results along this path. This determines the delegates' responsibility.

How is every party committee to be turned into a center to which people gravitate with their interests, ideas, concerns, and accomplishments?

What has to be done to ensure that party decisions are given a full and real expression, that every Communist becomes a genuine foreman of restructuring?

How is the mastering of political methods of leadership to be accelerated?

How are the braking mechanisms in the economy and the obstacles to the unfolding of people's power to be eliminated?

We must give an answer to these and many other important questions.

Restructuring, the 27th CPSU Congress emphasized, cannot even be imagined without a radical change in the style of party work, without rethinking the party's new role in all spheres of society's life.

During the period under review, while restoring on a contemporary basis Lenin's perception of the ways to build socialism, we noticeably advanced along the decisive avenue of renewing the party, strengthening party organizations, and reviving their initiative and assertiveness. This, as the CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum noted, is the main point: After all, without the restructuring of party organizations and each and every Communist, the party will be unable to perform its historical mission of being the people's political vanguard.

This is realized by party raykoms, whose activity shows a turn toward the solution of the problems that worry Muscovites—not only current but also long-term problems. Furthermore, it is important to ensure that all raykoms work with proper consideration for the specific nature of their territory, without copying each other, with emphasis on crucial tasks.

In Sevastopolskiy Rayon, for example, where a large number of major scientific collectives are concentrated and social problems are acute, the party raykom actively involves scientists in their solution on the basis of new economic approaches. Sociological studies are conducted, and territorial and sectoral interests are skillfully interlinked.

Tushinskiy Raykom is typified by an emphasis on the development of democratic principles in work and is accumulating experience in holding referendums of the population. An enterprise directors' council is at work there, which helps to find the best possible solutions and to more efficiently utilize enterprises' resources to strengthen the rayon's social sphere.

Or take Krasnogvardeyskiy Rayon. A persistent quest for new forms of the development of local self-management is under way there. The Brateyevo neighborhood has set up Moscow's first public self-management committee, which is actively involved in work to solve problems perturbing the population; it has roused the residents' activeness and has involved them in work on the neighborhood's development. As a result of all this, there has been a considerable reduction in the number of complaints to the rayispolkom, residents themselves have started solving many questions, and the rayon's municipal services have improved their operations and are now being monitored by the committee.

The role of elected party organs has increased markedly. Party raykom plenums are now being held without the formalism of the past and in a more constructive fashion. They are distinguished by openness, broader discussion of different points of view, and, most importantly of all, by the depth and specificity of decisions made by them.

This is exactly what happened at a Volgogradskiy party raykom plenum which was held on the spot in the "Frezer" Plant to discuss its party committee's work to boost Communists' activeness in the conditions of transition to economic accountability and self-financing.

There are numerous specific examples of restructuring the style of work. The task is to ensure that the new approaches toward party leadership of all aspects of the capital's life are more swiftly adopted by every party organization. The radical restructuring of party committees' apparatus structures, rejection of the sectoral principle of organization, and the apparatus' total subordination to elected organs constitute a major precondition for a confident transition to political methods of leadership.

Of course, cadres do not find it easy to adopt new methods.

A sizable proportion of the apparatus at raykom and gorkom level is still under the impression that it enjoys a monopoly of the ultimate truth and has still not abandoned attempts to dictate its views or the desire to evade criticism from below and accountability to elected organs.

Unfortunately, there are also instances when party raykom plenums are held in the old fashion and follow the worst traditions of the past, being held for totally unknown reasons, simply "for the record."

There are still quite a few party organizations and secretaries who wait for directives from above. It is difficult to eradicate dependence from our life. Leaders of different services and of different levels at times waste a lot of energy in seeking excuses for their slackness instead of organizing their work and solving problems.

The central task in the party gorkom's activity must be to further develop intraparty democracy and improve the selection, education, and placement of cadres. Affirmation of the principles of glasnost in cadre work and broad consultation with Communists and nonparty people when leaders are promoted make it possible to avoid mistakes, to bring forward genuine leaders capable of heading the collectives, and to achieve tangible practical results.

There are quite a few such people in every rayon. During the report and election campaign they were entrusted with the leadership of primary party organizations, now they are being nominated as candidate people's deputies.

At the same time, the development of democratic processes in work with cadres has placed a number of party raykoms in an awkward position. The cadre reserve which had been drawn up according to the old prescription and on which they relied has failed the tests of restructuring: In many cases, what appeared to be more than satisfactory application forms by some candidates for promotion were at odds with Communists' opinion of their professional and moral qualities.

It was evidently no accident that only less than one-half of primary organization secretaries in Babushkinskiy, Volgogradskiy, Voroshilovskiy, and Kirovskiy Rayons were selected from the reserve. The replacement of a number of party organization secretaries came as a total surprise to Dzerzhinskiy, Krasnopresnenskiy, Oktyabrskiy, and some other CPSU Raykoms. In places there was evident reluctance to nominate more than one candidate, and attempts were made to foist convenient cadre decisions on Communists.

For example, a Kuntsevskiy Raykom plenum failed to support the candidate for the office of second secretary nominated by Raykom First Secretary Comrade V.I. Anufriyev, and the rayon soviet session voted against the nominated candidate for the office of ispolkom chairman. It appeared that Communists' and deputies' opinions of people's worth differ from that held by the party raykom first secretary.

It seems totally impossible to cure the pernicious nomenklatura disease of clearing every single issue with higher-ranking organs. And when it comes to promoting someone to a leadership position, the bureaucratic machine is cranked up to full speed.

There is, however, something else that must also be perceived. Now that we have fully switched to the principle of leaders' being elected, we cannot allow principle to be replaced by narrow pragmatism, we cannot allow group interests to prevail over social interests, we cannot allow demagogues and careerists to force their way into leadership. After all, we do have such cases on record. The closest possible collaboration between party organizations and labor collective councils on cadre matters is now more important than ever before.

Lenin's demand—to be in thick of the masses, to know the mood of the masses, to act by persuasion and through the force of argument—still abides. This is the art of political leadership, especially in cadre work.

The party Central Committee raised the task of strictly adhering to unity of word and action as one of the fundamental principles of restructuring. We cannot allow the desire for change, which is truly the result of so

much suffering among the people, to remain only partially satisfied. To brush aside people's specific suggestions would mean facing once more the danger of their losing faith in the party organs' prestige and the effectiveness of their decisions.

The separation of management functions clearly defines the role and position of party, soviet, and economic organs. Virtually all the conditions for abandoning reciprocal supplanting and duplication of work have been created in Moscow, where central planning and economic institutions, banks, ministries, and departments are located.

The switch to new methods of economic management envisaged that ministries would focus their attention mainly on questions of scientific and technical progress and the pursuit of a uniform policy for sector development.

But words again diverged from action, even though Moscow's enterprises should have provided the ministries with a test range to work out progressive forms of management and to test advanced techniques and technologies. Especially since a mighty scientific and technical potential is concentrated in the capital, where the majority of sectors' umbrella scientific centers are located.

The 26th city party conference demanded that Communists in ministry leaderships and their party committees radically change their attitude to Moscow's industry. Unfortunately, it must be admitted that this decision has gone largely unfulfilled.

The "Red Book" of our city's declining and neglected enterprises unfortunately contains quite a few pages, and even whole chapters. It lists the Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry's "Pamyati Revolyutsii 1905 Goda" and "Dinamo" plants, the Ministry of the Chemical Industry's Derbenevskiy chemical plant, numerous shops and production units, and even leading enterprises like the Likhachev Motor Vehicles Plant, the "Serp i Molot" Plant, the No 1 State Bearings Plant, and a number of others.

There are no words to express the indignation caused by the technical situation and working conditions at the USSR Ministry of Railways' Lyublinskiy machine foundry. Every year this plant receives more than 230,000 tonnes of metal and melting stock for processing, and more than 80 percent of its output is then shipped from Moscow to all corners of the country. The question is: Does our city really have surplus manpower, is everything in order as regards the ecological situation?

How can we talk about separation of functions when the party gorkom is forced time and again to resort to edict methods to make negligent leaders working and living in Moscow face up to the problems of Moscow enterprises under their jurisdiction, and therefore face up to working people?!

Way back in December 1987 the party gorkom requested that every ministry nominate a working organ to be responsible for the state of affairs at Moscow enterprises. It is necessary to expedite the fulfillment of targets regarding the reconstruction and retooling of industry, to sharply reduce the level of manual labor, and to radically review the system for managing the city's labor resources.

Industry and the services sphere experience a permanent shortage of worker cadres. Having abandoned the recruitment of [out-of-town] workers under the so-called "quota system," it is necessary to create a system of measures for the fullest possible utilization of the capital's labor resources.

The party gorkom and the gorispolkom receive a large number of requests from labor collectives asking for authorization to pay—as an exceptional measure—the full amount of old-age pension due to pensioners working as workers or foremen at Moscow enterprises and organizations, without any deductions in respect of the wages they earn.

The Planning Commission (Comrade Ye.I. Bystrov) and the Moscow Gorispolkom Main Administration for Coordination of Sector Industry and Consumer Goods production (Comrade I.M. Golovkov), jointly with the ministries, must thoroughly analyze the products list of Moscow's enterprises.

When will we finally cease dragging cement, gravel, crushed stone, and lumber to the capital so as to manufacture construction panels and joinery products and then ship them to other regions? This is the cause of cross hauls and the overloading of transportation routes and rolling stock. Here is something that the USSR Gosplan and the USSR Gossnab can work on.

Nor can we be pleased with the extremely slow pace of withdrawal of inappropriate [neprofilnyy] enterprises outside the city limits.

A national ecological program is now being elaborated. Moscow Gorispolkom and the recently created Moscow Committee for Protection of the Environment, jointly with ministries and departments, must complete as soon as possible the elaboration of proposals for the relocation or conversion of a number of enterprises and submit them for examination by the USSR Council of Ministers and inclusion in the 13th 5-Year Plan.

Party organizations must rely more broadly on the public when it comes to solving such problems. The people will not allow anyone to deviate from set plans. In the course of the report and election campaign Moscow's Communists and nonparty comrades, in other words, all Muscovites, placed special emphasis on the strict observance of unity between word and action in all spheres of the city's life.

For example, the press and the public rightly criticize the intolerably long time taken to complete repair and maintenance work on the V.I. Lenin Library, the Tretyakov Gallery, the Malyy Theater, the A.V. Lunacharskiy State Theatrical Art Institute building, and other cultural facilities. Along with the Main Administration for Culture (Comrade I.B. Bugayev), responsibility for this state of affairs must be shared by the leaderships of the union and republican Ministries of Culture which have adopted the stance of detached onlookers.

The fate of the city's architectural character is looking alarming. The lamentable condition of numerous historical buildings testifies to the obviously inadequate attention paid to our historical heritage.

For how long will we tolerate, for example, the use to which Moscow's ancient Gostinyy Dvor, a monument from the era of Russian classicism, is being put? More than 100 sundry offices are located there, and it is closed to the people. We must also consult Muscovites on the future use of the GUM Department Store building, without putting off the adoption of the right decision and its mandatory fulfillment.

Here is another example of divergence between word and action. Agreement was reached on the stage-by-stage introduction of sociocultural and commercial pedestrian zones in the city—initially eight or nine of them, to be followed by their introduction in every rayon.

What have we got at present? Apart from the Arbat, which is literally overloaded to the point of suffocation, and another two or three small sections, virtually nothing else. The Moscow Gorispolkom Main Administration for Architecture (Comrade L.V. Vavakin) has to all intents and purposes reduced this necessary and important work to zero.

It is necessary to seriously review the approach of party, soviet, and economic organs to these questions. Ultimately, the treatment of historical and architectural monuments and the cultural heritage determines everyone's civic stance.

A precise system for monitoring and organizing performance based on further enhancement of responsibility for the assigned task must be elaborated in all sectors of restructuring. Such a system is still lacking in the work of party raykoms, the party gorkom, and people's control organs in the city.

The paramount task of party committees is, of course, to ensure the strength and purity of party ranks. Even if there are only isolated cases of Communists' breaching the norms of morals and party ethics, this gives antirestructuring forces an excuse to attack the party and the policy of restructuring as a whole.

Pugin, former director of the "Salyut" Machine Building Production Association and member of the Pervomayskiy Raykom Bureau, and Samarkin, secretary of the association's party committee, were expelled from the party last year by decision of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee for gross violation of the norms of party life, drunkenness, and squandering of state funds.

This is scandalous in itself. To make matters worse, Comrade V.A. Vasilyev, former raykom first secretary, not only failed to make a principled assessment of the scandalous disgrace at "Salyut," but also attempted to protect the culprits with the tacit consent of Raykom Bureau members.

An equally unseemly case came to light in the Leningradskiy Party Raykom apparatus. A former raykom department chief was expelled from the party for speculation in vodka.

A total of more than 9,000 people were expelled from CPSU membership during the period under review. There has been a tangible increase in the number of people failing to get through their term as candidate members.

The newly elected gorkom, relying on primary party organizations, must wage an implacable struggle to ensure Communists' strict adherence to statute demands, to ensure the party member's honest and pure image.

There is only one way to achieve a substantial improvement of the quality of Soviet people's life—by decisively changing the state of affairs in the economy.

Speaking about Moscow, the radical economic reform has given labor collectives the long-awaited opportunity to work autonomously, to overcome departmental barriers and petty tutelage, and therefore to mobilize additional incentives for boosting work efficiency. The investment policy is changing, and its emphasis today is on the retooling and reconstruction of enterprises, primarily in the machine building complex. The prime cost of output is declining, profitability of production is rising. The commissioning of fixed capital has been accelerated. In short, intensive factors of economic management are playing a growing role.

Output and labor productivity growth rates in the city's industry are stable and exceed the 5-year plan targets set for this period. Contract discipline has been tightened. Deliveries plan fulfillment in 1988 reached 99.9 percent.

The experimental base of science is being strengthened, and this means that the pace of introduction of achievements of scientific and technical progress is being accelerated.

Moscow's scientists, designers, and workers put a lot of work into recent major achievements of Soviet science and technology like the development of the "Buran" space shuttle system using "Energiya," the world's most powerful booster rocket, the IL-96 and TU-204 modern airliners, the powerful "Elbrus" computer complexes, the new generation of metal cutting machine tools, and installations for the laser processing of metals. The party line of priority development for machine building and the national economy's electronization is being steadily pursued.

Developments by Moscow institutes in the sphere of radio electronics and the development of rotary and rotary conveyer lines and of modern waste-free technologies are widely known. Scientists in the capital engaged in studying basic problems of nuclear physics, genetics, and medicine are in the forefront.

The new economic mechanism is producing a steadily growing effect, and the rights and potential of labor collectives are really expanding. Restructuring and economic reform have unshackled people's initiative and paved the way for energetic cadres who think in state terms. Each one of us here can cite examples to this effect. I will give just one, to prove this point.

The Moscow CPSU Gorkom Bureau backed the suggestion by the "Kvant" enterprise's party organization and economic leaders (General Director Comrade Yu.V. Skokov, Party Committee Secretary Comrade V.S. Tarasov) to set up an intersector concern for the development and manufacture of energy sources for various purposes. This form of production organization firmly breaks down departmental barriers and tangibly and really accelerates scientific and technical progress, especially at enterprises in sectors whose development is obviously lagging.

In order to multiply the examples of economic management gumption, of a new view of economic relations, and of bold scientific quest, we need comprehensive implementation of radical economic reform along the entire front. A wholesale trade system and different models of economic accountability and contract relations must be elaborated in Moscow already during the current 5-year plan period.

We cannot expect success unless science makes a greater contribution to the solution of economic tasks. Moscow's scientific potential, widely represented in both basic and applied research, must be fully activated in the interests of restructuring, the interests of deepening economic reform and revolutionary transformation of techniques and technologies, the interests of society's renewal on the basis of lofty intellectual and moral values.

The orientation toward people's needs is one of the party gorkom's main concerns. The effect of the years of neglect of the social sphere can still be felt, but a breakthrough is being achieved here too.

The pace of housing construction has been accelerated. Despite all the complexities, it is in line with the program for providing an individual home for every Muscovite family by the year 2000. Over 10 million square meters of housing have been constructed against the 3-year target of 9.3 million. Compared with the previous 5-year plan period, the commissioning of kindergartens and of social, cultural, and consumer service facilities has doubled.

At the same time, it must be clearly realized that our advance is not progressing at the pace which is necessary and possible. What are the reasons?

Primarily the fact that management organs and labor collectives have yet to adopt as the norm of their work the systematic utilization of economic management methods and the introduction of the achievements of scientific and technical progress which make it possible to achieve a genuine breakthrough and "severalfold" increases in labor productivity.

One recently emerged dangerous trend is that the lines of leadership are getting lost in a number of rayons. This also applies to the city echelon. The Moscow CPSU Gorkom no longer has sector departments, while the organizational establishment of the Moscow Gorispolkom's new subdivisions is obviously dragging on.

I would like to emphasize with utmost firmness that the release of party organs from operational-executive functions does not mean their self-withdrawal from the solution of pressing socioeconomic questions. On the contrary, it demands further enhancement of their competence and their responsibility to people.

There are great hopes associated with the new general scheme for the management of the city's economy. Its purpose is to ensure the switch to predominantly economic methods of management, to simplify management links, to eliminate parallelism and duplication, and to cut back the size and costs of the management apparatus.

Everything was correctly conceived. But Moscow Gorispolkom was ill-prepared for the introduction of the new management scheme. It proves totally impossible for the system to function at full power, and it keeps breaking down. It is necessary to clearly realize that the new scheme will start operating only in conditions of rayon management organs' economic autonomy and responsibility. A lot was said on this topic at the report and election meetings and conferences.

The gorkom has stated its position: Moscow and all the rayons should switch, by way of an experiment, to new conditions for budget forming without changing mutual relations with the union and republic budgets. There is a pressing need to switch to economic relations between enterprises and soviets and to change the existing tax system so as to enable the city to solve its problems successfully. But while the old cost-oriented mechanism remains in operation, everything will remain geared to finance from centralized sources.

We discussed in detail the entire package of questions concerning the introduction of the new management scheme at last September's Moscow CPSU Gorkom plenum and mapped out a specific program for action. Now it is a matter of actually implementing everything that has been planned. This is where the mighty potential of people's power must be fully revealed.

The political reform now under way in the country is actually aimed at strengthening the authority and expanding the potential of soviets of people's deputies at all levels—let me emphasize this, of soviets themselves and not just of their executive organs.

It must be said that, in these complex conditions, Moscow Gorispolkom Chairman Comrade V.T. Saykin and his deputies are sparing no effort in their work and are not sitting around in their offices. They spend a lot of time at local level, visiting the rayons.

This would seem to be good. What is bad is something else: Just as in the past, the tenacity of the old management mechanism and its inordinate centralization push the city's leaders, soviet and party leaders alike, into the administrative edict style and thus retard the introduction of economic methods of management. And so they have to play the part of "fixers" at construction sites and vegetable distribution centers and almost personally take charge of street sweeping operations and the unloading of freight cars.

Have such "methods" of leadership improved the appearance of streets, reduced the number of leaking roofs, or improved the trade network's operation? No, the state of the city's economy and the standard of services for Muscovites still cannot satisfy anyone.

The main and most acute question which perturbs every single citizen—and this is no exaggeration—is the progress in implementing the housing program. Estimates show that, taking into account changes in the composition of the capital's population, housing conditions have to be improved for almost 4 million people. This is an exceptionally complex task. But it is almost 10 months since the Moscow City Soviet session which examined and ratified the housing program, yet it still has not been broken down and assigned to specific rayons.

Rayispolkoms have no clearly defined range of responsibility and still have no idea where new construction will be sited, how many homes will undergo capital repairs, or exactly who will share the costs and to what extent. This means that the work is immediately under threat of disruption. Neither the Moscow City Soviet nor the party gorkom should let this happen; they have no right to let it happen.

Moscow's Committee for Construction Affairs [Mosstroykomitet] enjoys great potential and tremendous powers. It must coordinate construction work by all enterprises and organizations on Moscow's territory regardless of their departmental affiliation—which was not done earlier.

Let us assume that the past year was spent by the committee's leaders on organizational matters and on shaking down the new management structure. But the time for action is now upon us. Comrade P.S. Surov, chairman of Moscow's Committee for Construction Affairs, must be quicker in abandoning the administrative edict methods of leadership to which he is committed. He must rely on economic accountability and lease contracts and make skillful use of their advantages to boost the volume of work, improve construction quality, and develop the base of the construction industry, which fails to meet our city's needs in terms of both technical standards and capacity.

An impressive volume of construction work on housing and on social, cultural, and consumer services projects is due to be performed by Moscow's construction workers in quake-damaged Leninakan. Fraternal international assistance will be urgently rendered to Armenia. But this should in no way affect the pace at which the capital's housing and social programs are fulfilled.

There are still many irregularities in the allocation and utilization of housing and nonhousing stock. Comrade A.I. Kostenko is responsible to the gorispolkom for these questions. The desire to personally deal with everything, to bite off more than he can chew, as the saying goes, has resulted in little progress being made in evicting the offices which have spread all over Moscow like octopus tentacles. There are over 4,000 of them inside the Sadovoye Beltway alone. I think that it is perfectly legitimate to set the task of closing down institutions of no use to the economy in 1989-1990 and using the space thus vacated to accommodate stores, cafes, and workshops which are so badly needed by the population.

Housing space is still being allocated without taking into account the rayons' opinion or the demographic situation. The power to allocate housing must be vested fully in the rayispolkoms, and workers' control must be involved in this work. I am convinced that this is the way to overcome irregularities and abuses in these matters.

The expansion of urban development, the greater distances separating people's places of residence from their work, and the lack of the necessary trade and municipal and consumer services enterprises in a number of neighborhoods are creating problems in the already complex transportation situation.

A radical solution can be found only by accelerating the pace of subway construction. By 1991 we are due to commission 31 km out of the 45 km of subway lines envisaged by the 5-year plan, but even this pace will not solve the problem in full. During the 13th 5-Year Plan period it will be necessary to commission at least 50 km of subway lines, including the Mitino-Butovo branch line, and also to get work under way on an additional 10 km of subway lines. This task represents the minimum requirement.

The scale of work to fundamentally improve the ecological situation in the city is expanding sharply.

There is an urgent need to resolve questions concerning the improvement of food supplies for Muscovites. New capacities for the meat processing and dairy industry have been commissioned during the 12th 5-Year Plan period.

Nevertheless, the problem remains acute. The city's food industry sectors do not produce many types of products, including dietary and children's foods. There are insufficient quantities of sausage products, semiprocessed meat products, smoked meats, cottage cheese, and confectionery products. The pursuit of profits results in curtailment of the products range. Cheap and universally affordable output is squeezed out by more expensive products, while the quality of articles remains the same. It must, furthermore, be borne in mind that the term "Moscow market" covers an area reaching far beyond the borders of Moscow and Moscow Oblast. Purchases by visitors account for over 40 percent of the city's retail trade turnover.

The problem of reliable supplies of fruit and vegetable produce for Moscow requires immediate solution. Plans for fruit and vegetable storage are fulfilled year in and year out. But people are still annoyed by trade network shortages of potatoes, fresh cabbage, and other vegetables.

It is evident that supplying Moscow and Moscow Oblast must be seen as a single task.

At the party gorkom's initiative, a draft CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution was prepared on improving the fruit and vegetable produce supply system for Muscovites.

It is envisaged not only to pool efforts but also to clearly define the responsibility of producers, suppliers, transportation workers, and trading organizations. It is also planned to take steps to improve food supplies for residents in the Moscow region, making it largely possible to relieve them of frequent travel into Moscow to acquire basic necessities and thus to reduce the waiting lines from which Muscovites suffer.

Much work has to be done to reconstruct and retool the bakery and the meat and dairy industry enterprises. We will examine these questions at on-the-spot sessions. By 1991 we must complete the renovation of dairy industry enterprises, and the renovation of the city's meat processing enterprises must be completed by 1996. The fulfillment of this program must be a permanent concern for party committees, but primarily for rayispolkoms and the Moscow Gorispolkom.

Despite the efforts that have been made, the situation is still under strain as regards supplying the population with the necessary consumer goods. There is a steadily widening gap between the population's incomes and the available material supplies. Unsatisfied demand amounts to almost R6 billion.

This strain is primarily the result of serious shortcomings in industry's work, and especially the work of Group "A" enterprises. Debtor enterprises include the "Elektrozavod Imeni Kuybysheva" and "Oktyabr" Associations, the "Orbita" and "Agregat" Plants, and others whose delivery shortfalls amount to thousands of domestic refrigerators, washing machines, and other products which Muscovites need. The pace of output growth for nonfood products, including cotton and silk textiles, radio receivers, domestic clocks, washing machines, sewing machines, and wallpaper in Moscow as a whole is lower than envisaged by the comprehensive program.

The manufacture of light industry products in retail price terms increased 5 percent last year. But this growth is no cause for joy because it was mainly achieved through the production of expensive goods. Purchasers cannot buy what they need. Some cooperatives are also guilty of "contributing" toward making a number of articles in mass demand dearer.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo examined the entire package of questions concerning the regularization of prices for output by light industry and cooperatives, and measures are being taken which will make it possible to block unjustified cost increases for goods and services for the population and will create economic preconditions encouraging enterprises and cooperatives to boost the output of cheap articles.

It is up to party organizations, rayispolkoms, and the gorispolkom to ensure the implementation of these measures everywhere in the city. Nor should the labor collective councils at the actual enterprises where these products are manufactured remain uninvolved in the solution of these questions.

Many shortcomings in services to Muscovites stem from major errors in the work of the Main Administration for Trade, Public Catering, and Consumer and Paid Services (Comrades V.A. Zharov, V.A. Karnaukhov, V.I. Malyshkov, V.V. Seleznev).

On the slightest pretext the leaders of this subdivision cite the shortage of trading area, unreliable produce deliveries, unsatisfactory operations by truck transportation workers, and so on. In other words, blame lies with everyone except the people who are specifically responsible for the solution of these urgent questions. As for the fact that work standards are unbelievably low in trade and public catering, boorishness, shameless giving of short weight and shortchanging, and the practice of concealing goods in short supply are rife, and embezzlement is commonplace—these leaders, who are moreover directly subordinate to the Moscow Gorispolkom, close their eyes to all this. Party organizations, the gorkom included, also fail to take proper action against these phenomena.

The time for admonition and warning is past. Nobody should harbor any doubts that the party gorkom and raykoms will sharply enhance the accountability of the Communists to whom this most important sector of work has been entrusted.

MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA recently published a report on the results of a workers' control inspection in some of the city's food stores, which were certainly not the largest in trade turnover terms. Sizeable quantities of produce, including delicacies, were discovered under the counters and were made available to purchasers only after this intervention.

Trade unions' efforts to create a system of total workers' control and measures to protect consumers' interests receive total party support.

When it comes to imposing order, it impossible to rely on the public's activeness alone. The work of the city's law enforcement organs in this direction today is not satisfactory. Recently the Moscow Prosecutor's Office (Comrade L.P. Baranov), the city's Struggle Against Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation Service (Comrade A.D. Seldemirov), and their rayon subdivisions have obviously slackened the struggle against embezzlers of socialist property, bribe takers, thieves, speculators, and those whom the people have dubbed "the trade mafia." It is also time for the Main Administration for Internal Affairs (Comrade P.S. Bogdanov) to become firmer in taking people to task for these outrages.

Incidentally, a poll conducted this month by the USSR Academy of Sciences Sociological Studies Institute showed that Moscow's working people rank the measures aimed at combating corruption, embezzlement, and abuse of office first among the practical actions which lend greatest prestige to restructuring. The same study showed that shortcomings in supplies for the population are the main issue which perturbs people.

It is necessary to especially single out the problems of health care. The state of affairs in this sphere has an effect on the economy, on ideology, and on morality. We need a healthy society in the literal sense of the word. The state of the material and technical base of hospitals and polyclinics and the standard of services to the population arouse acute dissatisfaction among people. It is necessary to immediately "cure" our medicine itself.

A recent meeting of the city's party and economic aktiv examined tasks associated with fulfilling the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution, adopted at the gorkom's initiative, on the further development of health care in Moscow. The implementation of the measures envisaged by this document will make it possible to substantially remedy the situation, introduce order in medical institutions, and supply modern diagnostic equipment not only to major centers but also to city and rayon polyclinics.

USSR Minister of Health Comrade Ye.I. Chazov is also actively involved in the solution of these questions. We hope that Yevgeniy Ivanovich, with his characteristic energy, will help untangle the problems of Moscow's medicine, and we will begin by jointly resolving the long outstanding problem of the reconstruction of the major hospital named for S.P. Botkin.

The full implementation of all these plans will take time. The more effective the actions taken by Communists in the Main Administration for Health Care and its leadership (Comrade V.N. Mudrak) are, the less time it will take. But so far the main administration has produced too much bustle and not enough work on the solution of even immediate problems. No additional capital investments will boost sympathy, tactfulness, and compassion for the sick if discipline in medical collectives remains poor and if health workers are not educated in a keen spirit of medical duty and charity. Unfortunately, judging by the number of complaints from Muscovites about inconsiderateness, negligence, and slipshod work, including work by ambulance and emergency services, medicine in the capital ranks alongside the trade network.

There has been no improvement in the work of the Main Pharmaceutical Administration (Comrade Yu.S. Mitin). People are literally run off their feet in search of medicines which are certainly not in short supply. The work of the information service on the availability of various medicines is poorly organized. The administration's storage facilities have not developed for many years. Medicines arriving in Moscow frequently remain unloaded in freight cars, and this does not seem to worry any of the main administration's leaders.

It is impermissible and impossible to further tolerate this situation. The protection of people's health is a matter of state importance, and consequently party concern for this sector must be constantly maintained at a high level.

The problems associated with the condition and development of our city's infrastructure are multifaceted. Their solution demands high competence on the part of leaders. We frequently incur large losses not because of any shortage of resources but because of the inability to properly administer them, because of the unreliability, carelessness, and irresponsibility of officials at all levels of management.

The economy's social reorientation certainly does not mean that the state will cover losses caused by negligence and economic mismanagement with funds diverted from the solution of equally important tasks.

We incur enormous expenditure by paying subsidies for housing and urban passenger transportation, let alone foodstuffs. In Moscow alone the sum runs into hundreds of millions of rubles.

I am certain that economic accountability will eventually teach people a thrifty attitude toward allocated resources, but it must also be borne in mind that cultivating the feeling of being master in production is a profound party matter that can be said to be of great political importance. It must permeate the work of all party organizations and every Communist. This is the task that our conference must set.

The solution of problems in a multifaceted organism like Moscow's economy is possible only by closely interlinking sectoral and territorial interests, since the interests of both working people and residents of the city are combined in Muscovites.

These are the objectives actually pursued by the "Progress-95" comprehensive territorial-sectoral program, whose elaboration is now nearing completion. Its implementation will make it possible to untangle many tight knots in the city's socioeconomic development. Its main feature is the scientific and systematic approach to the solution of long-term and current tasks. It is based on accelerated introduction of the achievements of scientific and technical progress in all sectors of the economy.

The program was elaborated throughout 1988 under the leadership of scientists from the Academy of Sciences and scientists from the State Committee for Science and Technology and the USSR Gosplan.

The important point was that its elaboration started from the bottom upward. This made it possible to achieve the best possible combination of the interests of enterprises, rayons, the city, and departments.

Labor collective councils examined and approved the basic indicators of their own programs. They thus took on the duty of also monitoring progress in their implementation. "Progress-95" must already produce a substantial effect on the fulfillment of targets for the remaining 2 years of the current 5-year plan period.

The "Progress-95" Program was basically approved at an enlarged session of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom Bureau attended by party raykom first secretaries and leaders of soviet and economic organs, ministries, and departments. Following examination and approval by the Central Committee and the government, it will form the basis of the 13th 5-Year Plan targets.

The task of the economy's social reorientation demands of party organizations persistence in implementing adopted decisions and in upholding the working people's interests. This is a political task aimed at activating in every way the human factor, the main driving force of restructuring.

The party embarked on restructuring for the sake of people, and it is people who are implementing restructuring. And if we want to achieve substantial changes in the economy and in spiritual life, we should certainly not be indifferent as to who will struggle, and how, for victory in the work on which we have embarked.

Underestimation of the human factor's role caused heavy losses in the past. The falseness of past slogans, the unrestrained extolling of imaginary successes, and the pomp of events staged to cover up the vacuousness of content ideologically disarmed party organizations and alienated the working man from management, the means of production, and the results of his own labor and of social labor.

The party and the Central Committee had to find the courage and boldness to say this bluntly, to lead the country in the direction of radical transformations which we are today fully entitled to describe as revolutionary. They affect millions of people, their interests, and all spheres of our life, they affect every family and every person.

There are most complex processes now occurring in people's minds and in public awareness, everything that is taking place in the country arouses a keen interest and response among the people because it is a matter of the country's destiny, the destiny of present and future generations.

It is a matter of our ability to revive society on the basis of truly socialist values. It is a matter of the party's serious ideological rearmament, of the deepest possible dialectical interpretation of the processes of restructuring, and of the elaboration of forms and methods for party work suited to the set tasks. In its activity on

society's transformation, the party rejects a purely negative attitude to the past and borrows from it everything that furthers restructuring and renewal.

The nurturing of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook among Communists and all Muscovites assumes special importance in today's conditions, when an acute political struggle is being waged for people's minds and their stance on restructuring. It ever was and still remains the paramount task of party organizations and all ideological front workers.

The ideological and political and the moral atmosphere in Moscow is a sensitive barometer reflecting the situation in the country as a whole. Therefore the city party organization and its cadres bear great responsibility for the standards of ideological work, whose style and methods must be geared to the links with working people and all Muscovites, to attention to their lives, and to support for the democratic processes within society.

But this is still difficult to achieve. It must be bluntly said that democratization and glasnost caught many of our ideologists unawares, including social scientists, propaganda workers, and seminar leaders within the political and economic training system. Moscow's Higher Party School is also failing to meet the demands posed by the time.

Restructuring has also brought to light a large number of people who accidentally found themselves in the corps of ideological cadres, people who are only too successful in pontificating about everything in general and nothing in particular. The people no longer accept this. They do not need general reflections, they need specific answers to the most urgent questions posed by life.

Because of the poor standard of some ideological cadres' theoretical training, and taking advantage of society's tremendous interest in our history, some lecturers of dubious reputation have emerged. They write for publications and address mass audiences.

It is no accident that these—pardon the expression—"educators" are drawn like a magnet primarily by young people, who at times accept at face value plausible reasoning in which the truth about so-called "blank spots" in our history is constantly mixed in with downright fantasies drawn from dubious sources.

Such instances have occurred in the Aviation, Power Industry, and Teacher Training Institutes, in some Moscow State University faculties, and in the Higher Komsomol School.

The responsibility of the press and publishing houses is exceptionally great today. The journalists and writers have helped the party to stir the people, to rouse them for restructuring, to raise the standards of criticism, and to promote the importance of glasnost. More than one-half of the country's journals and almost three-fourths of the total print run of books are published in Moscow. This is where one-third of creative unions' members work.

The party greatly values the active participation of the capital's scientists and cultural figures in restructuring. It can be said without any exaggeration that the voice of Moscow's intelligentsia can be heard today all over the country. To a large extent, its committed attitude to society's future has helped to open up zones where criticism was previously taboo, including in the capital.

The print runs of MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA and VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA have increased. Many articles carried by these publications have rightly met with a broad public response and help party committees to conduct organizational and educational work in labor collectives. The creation of MOSTASS, the TASS department serving the capital, has proved its worth by supplying a larger volume of current information about Muscovites' affairs.

At the same time, some material carried by Moscow mass media does not encourage working people to specific action, and some publications still contain much sensationalism, to the detriment of ideological commitment, and make hasty and sometimes even incompetent and rash conclusions and assessments. Often journalists batter down open doors, as the saying goes, and select the same targets for criticism. Editorial collectives have still not fully overcome violations of journalistic ethics. Publications often display group bias and personal ambitions. These shortcomings are especially frequently encountered in programs of Moscow Television and Radio, whose leadership was sharply criticized at a Moscow CPSU Gorkom plenum.

In the course of the report and election campaign many Communists demanded that the party gorkom raise the level of leadership of the mass media. It was not a question of cooling down or reducing the amount of criticism but of enhancing journalists' responsibility and the quality of their work, of blocking any sensationalism in assessments of our history and of today's phenomena.

The CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum, having approved the concept of restructuring secondary and higher education, brought to the forefront the tasks of finding an innovative approach to training, educating, and improving the computer literacy of young people. But—and this has to be self-critically admitted—the plenum decisions have yet to become a specific action program for many party organizations in schools, vocational and technical schools, VUZ's, and public education management organs.

Much time was spent on setting up the City Public Education Committee, which is only now finding its feet and beginning to flex its muscles. The recent congress of public education workers brought to light substantial flaws in the teaching and education process, for which we are entirely to blame.

There is a need to seriously reinforce the material base of Moscow's VUZ's and their scientific subdivisions. VUZ's, which have too many masters in Moscow now, have long needed the reconstruction of everything, from the teaching process to their premises, from lecture halls to student hostels.

We have agreed to have a meeting right after the conference with Comrade G.A. Yagodin, chairman of the State Committee for Public Education, and the rectors of all 76 VUZ's in the city, so as to elaborate a joint stance on the development of the base of Moscow's VUZ's.

During the period under review the party gorkom and raykoms paid much attention to work at places of residence. A seminar of party raykom secretaries for these questions was held in Gagarinskiy Rayon. It is, after all, in people's places of residence that they really encounter all aspects of daily life; it is there that they feel the full effect of the way questions concerning amenities, services, leisure, and cultural and physical development are solved. It must be said that Muscovites, and young people in particular, are eager to visit physical culture and health complexes, computer classes, and hobby clubs, whose numbers have noticeably increased in the city.

Nevertheless, we cannot help being alarmed at the emerging trend of organizing the work of people's education, self-education, and leisure on a strictly commercial basis. This can be noticed in our physical culture and tourism organizations, and even in workers' clubs, including those under trade union jurisdiction.

To put it mildly, Muscovites are perplexed by the desire of theaters and concert organizations which have switched to economic accountability to solve their problems exclusively by raising ticket prices.

Commercialism is at times based on blatantly mediocre works. Foul language is often to be heard on stage and movie screens, violence and sex are preached, and there has been an impermissible decline of standards in shows for children and teenagers. This is the flip side of box office commercial success, and the damage done by it cannot be measured in terms of rubles.

Many culture centers have taken the path of elitism and exclusiveness and have scared off the young workers, while party raykoms disregard these seats of culture, which are frequently the only ones in the neighborhood.

A program for the renovation of Moscow's theaters was elaborated at the party gorkom's initiative and approved by the CPSU Central Committee. In actual fact, though, we are still waiting for the relevant USSR Council of Ministers resolution. Nevertheless, we are aware that much more remains to be done to ensure that the condition of Moscow's theaters, museums, exhibition halls, and parks is fully up to the high standards expected of a capital city.

There has been a tremendous public response to the suggestion of creating a monument to the victims of Stalin's repressions in Moscow. We cannot allow its construction to drag on for years on end, like the construction work on Memorial Hill.

Comrades, I would not like to end this part of the report on a depressing note.

Thanks to the assistance from and concern of the party Central Committee, there has been success in starting to move toward a solution of many questions relating to the cultural sphere's development.

Specifically, a decision was adopted to establish an all-union children's park in the Moskva River water meadows—in Nizhniye Mnevniki, which is one of the capital's most beautiful spots—and this will be a major gift to children from all over the country.

It would seem appropriate for the Moscow Komsomol—which has recently been at a total loss in determining where young people's energies should be applied—to assume sponsorship of the planning and construction of this park.

Party organizations have abandoned petty tutelage of the Komsomol, and that is correct. But there is something else that is impermissible—to leave the Komsomol members and the growing generation without their elder comrades' support and attention.

We Communists are required to strengthen the link of time, the link between generations. The party gorkom recently held a moving meeting with party, war, and labor veterans. How profound was the conversation that ensued! What genuine interest in our current affairs, what desire to help restructuring were displayed by those people who have lived through years of harsh trials!

It must be said that many new social formations—the Culture Foundation, the V.I. Lenin Children's Foundation, the charity society, the consumers' society, women's councils, and the Council of Moscow Cooperative Members—have recently started functioning in the capital in parallel with the War and Labor Veterans' Council. They play an active part in the renewal of our life and encourage the public to perform noble deeds.

There are quite a few good initiatives to be found in the movement of unsponsored and amateur associations. They help party, soviet, and trade union organs to solve important social and moral problems.

It is, however, impossible to overlook the fact that extremists and nationalistically inclined individuals are not averse to taking advantage of the masses' awakened social activeness. There are also—and this must be bluntly said—those who preach antisocialist views. Moscow's Communists will continue, as in the past, to resolutely rebuff them!

The exacerbated problem of interethnic relations merits the closest attention also in the capital. People of various nationalities live in our city. The increased interest shown in native language, national culture, history, and traditions is natural. The first union republic culture centers are opening in the city. The task of party committees is to aim to make them proper centers for Muscovites' international education and contacts.

Our state's innovative foreign policy, the Soviet Union's enhanced international prestige, and the major and bold initiatives aimed at sharply easing tension in military-political confrontation demand a serious change in the approach of party and soviet organs and social organizations toward work on the development of international ties. Recently there have been many new developments in relations with party organizations from the capitals of fraternal socialist countries. Contacts with the capitals of a number of capitalist countries have also been stepped up. There is an increasingly noticeable transition from the often strictly formal exchange of delegations to specific cooperation, development of direct ties between collectives, and establishment of joint ventures.

I would like to emphasize again that the processes occurring in the spiritual sphere are developing in a complex and at times contradictory manner. This is perhaps the weakest link in party work. It is no accident that, in the course of the report and election campaign, Communists noted that practical ideological work lags behind the phenomena of real life and, as in the past, errs on the side of rote learning and dogmatism. It does not lay down priorities or strictly verified guidelines for the further work of party committees along this avenue.

Ideological departments were substantially strengthened in the course of the reorganization of the party apparatus. The task now is to ensure that the gorkom and raykom commissions and departments now being set up do not trail after events, but anticipate them and foresee the consequences of our actions on the ideological front.

It is necessary to interpret events in greater depth, to draw prompt conclusions, and to learn lessons from past mistakes so as to act with greater confidence, to advance restructuring, and to rally the capital's Communists and all working people around its platform. The task of the gorkom, the raykoms, and the party organizations is to ensure that every Muscovite adopts the ideology of renewal as a matter of vital personal importance, and becomes an active participant in the implementation of set plans.

Comrades!

Communists and primary party organizations are the soul of restructuring; they are its driving force. It is they who are in the vanguard of the struggle to strengthen the Land of the Soviets and to revive Lenin's concept of socialism. The democratization of party life has made it possible to sharply boost the activeness of all who are concerned with the future of restructuring.

Over the last 3 years the Moscow city party organization has been politically and organizationally reinforced, and its numerical strength has increased. Now it counts almost 1.2 million Communists in its ranks.

Our ranks have been swollen by people capable of giving a new quality to party work and boosting the militancy of all links, from party groups to the gorkom. This is a reliable guarantee that past mistakes will not be repeated, that Moscow's Communists will rise to the tasks set by restructuring, especially now that preparation for the 28th CPSU Congress is starting to unfold.

Conference delegates will today lay a wreath at the Mausoleum of the great Lenin, founder of the Communist Party and the Soviet state. To adhere to Lenin's behests means to improve socialism day by day. Lenin's brilliant ideas were the life-giving force which prompted and inspired the party to embark on restructuring. Our work, our future, and our destiny lie in restructuring.

Shcherbitskiy Speaks to Dnepropetrovsk Voters

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4 Mar 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "More Weighty Practical Deeds"]

[Text] Promoting restructuring more vigorously and working for real results in all areas—that is the main theme of the election campaign mounted in the Ukraine. Not by lofty words, but by practical work in the mines and the plants, on the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, and in the scientific establishments—that is how the republic's working people are striving to accelerate the processes of renewal, so as to satisfy people's material and spiritual needs more fully.

Increasing the contribution of each oblast, rayon, and labor collective—that was also the main idea at the meeting between voters of Verkhnedneprovskiy Territorial Okrug No 424 and candidate for USSR people's deputy V.V. Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee. The meeting was held in the town of Zheltyye Vody in Dnepropetrovsk Oblast 2 March.

The meeting was opened by A.I. Moskalenko, first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Gorkom. V.I. Kuzmovich, team leader at the "Novaya" mine; Z.A. Myashkur, a knitter at a synthetic fur factory; A.A. Koldayev, chairman of the city war and labor veterans council; Yu.I. Koshik, director of the Ukrainian branch of the "Promtekhnologiya" All-Union Scientific Research and Planning Institute; Hero of Socialist Labor and war veteran V.M. Khavrenko; and other speakers noted that the upsurge in the people's social activeness

generated by the whole course of restructuring and the forthcoming elections of USSR people's deputies is determining the entire political atmosphere in the country today. It is very important now that renewal gathers pace and that Soviet people can more quickly appreciate the results of the reforms and transformations that are in progress. The participants in the meeting spoke about omissions in work, highlighted local reserves for increasing production efficiency, and addressed criticisms and proposals to union and republic organs.

V.V. Shcherbitskiy addressed those present. As you know, he said, M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, visited the republic recently. His speeches to the people of Kiev and at the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee made a thorough analysis of the situation in the most important areas of work and in the whole life of the republic, and clearly defined the tasks on whose solution our progress along the path of restructuring will primarily depend. Mikhail Sergeyevich's meetings at labor collectives and the progress of the election campaign show that in the republic, as throughout the country, there is active support for the Communists' political pre-election platform, as set out in the CPSU Central Committee address to the party and to the Soviet people.

I fully share the ideas and provisions of that document and will devote all my efforts and experience to ensuring that its program tasks are put into practice. I am firmly convinced that the party and the people have chosen the right path and that restructuring will triumph.

The basis of the election platform is the party's all-around concern for man's happiness and well-being. Thus I consider it important that all the activity of party organizations and soviet organs be centered on specific people with their daily needs and aspirations: workers and peasants, the intelligentsia, women, young people, and veterans. I see another of my most important aims in the further strengthening of the party's link with the people, in reliance on their mighty energy and tremendous spiritual potential, and in involving more and more new sections of society in the processes of restructuring.

The speaker stressed that the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference cited broad democratization as the pivot of restructuring. Therefore, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's party organizations are restructuring their own activity first of all on the principles of democracy. In their work the political approach is being consistently asserted and the significance of elected organs is being enhanced. The process of demarcating the functions of party, soviet, and economic organs is under way. Party committees have no intention of intervening directly in the practical work of organs of power and administration in the pursuit of giving full power to the soviets and repudiating methods based on administrative injunction. But they will continue to control the levers of political leadership and direct the activity of Communists, and thereby ensure the success of restructuring.

Democratic principles are being used more extensively and fully in a decisive area—work with cadres. The most important result of the reports and elections which took place in the republic's party organizations at the end of last year was that many party organizations and party committees are now headed by Communists who have the ability to really resolve the tasks of restructuring. Glasnost and the elective principle, which are being used more extensively in resolving cadre questions, are ensuring the necessary renewal of soviet and economic organs' leaders. At the same time the speaker noted that much now rests on the standard of specialists' training. Some specialists have still not really become involved in work. There are also those who lack the ability to learn new methods of work.

The deepening of the processes of democratization and the development of glasnost are radically changing all social and political life. Apathy and indifference are becoming things of the past; people's civic stances are becoming increasingly active. Labor collectives, social organizations, and voters are showing greater exactingness toward and interest in the formation of the new body of deputies who will be entrusted with elaborating supreme state policy in the crucial stage of the political and economic reforms. In the republic's 175 okrugs, 650 candidate deputies were nominated and 312 have been registered. Workers and kolkhoz members make up 45 percent of them. The experience gained during the election campaign is being comprehensively analyzed and considered in the preparation of amendments and additions to the USSR Constitution, as well as the laws on the election of people's deputies at republic and local soviet level.

In this way concrete, real forms of socialist self-management and true people's power are now being created and verified by life. And we are witnessing the way in which the practical implementation of the political reform is returning us to Lenin's concept of the state as the political organization of the working people, and to Lenin's slogan "All Power to the Soviets!" Of course, democracy and glasnost are inseparable from political culture, conscientiousness, state and labor discipline, and resolute struggle against all the negative phenomena which affect our life. And the creation of the rule-of-law state is necessary to guarantee the socialist self-management of the people and the protection of the freedom and dignity of the individual.

Firmness and an uncompromising stance are needed now when it is a question of eradicating slackness, mismanagement, and parasitism, and especially when it comes to criminal offenses. Party and soviet organs are expected to take a principled line on these questions. The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee makes

especially high demands on Communists, because any violation or abuse, the involvement of a party member, and equally a conciliatory attitude toward those responsible for violations are incompatible with party membership, particularly in a leading post.

The speaker dwelt subsequently on questions which are being actively discussed during the pre-election debates. I should like to take the main question first of all, he stressed. In our life and activity it is a long-established fundamental principle that the USSR is a single union state. Its strength lies precisely in the unity of the republics belonging to it. Recently, however, some people have been trying to maintain that this strength somehow derives from a simple arithmetical addition of the strengths of the republics. Such an approach clearly does not stand up to criticism. Our entire historical experience and the decisive trends of modern development irrefutably prove that the prosperity of any one is ensured not by each one individually, but by indissoluble interaction with the others forming the Union, with the country as a whole. Consequently, the question may only be put in these terms: The essential condition of the strength and viability of our state is the organic combination of all the fraternal republics constituting our common family.

It goes without saying that the mechanism of interaction between central and republic organs needs improvement. The urgent tasks of harmonizing interethnic relations will be comprehensively examined at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum for which active preparations are now in progress.

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee has elaborated and is implementing a precise and consistent action program on the most urgent problems of interethnic relations. In particular, the conditions are being provided for the more active use of the Ukrainian language in state, social, and cultural life. The republic's Supreme Soviet is preparing draft legal statutes to grant Ukrainian state language status and ensure the natural development of Ukrainian/Russian bilingualism. The national and cultural needs of the republic's multinational population, including geographically concentrated national groups, are being satisfied more fully.

In the solution of all the complex questions, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary stressed, including the highly sensitive problems of interethnic relations, the stance to which we adhere is the consolidation of all social forces on the basis of the pluralism of opinions. But on one condition only—the platform of restructuring. Therefore attempts by individuals and groups to exploit democratization and glasnost—to harm the friendship of the peoples and thereby harm restructuring—are totally unacceptable. We have been raised as internationalists. And to internationalists the interests of all nations and ethnic groups are equally important and dear. On that basis the Ukrainian Communist Party will continue strengthening in practice the friendship and unity of our country's peoples and paying due attention to patriotic and internationalist education.

Questions of environmental protection arouse people's justified concern, the speaker said. The environmental situation in many industrial centers has deteriorated because union and indeed republic ministries and departments often simply "cut corners" in terms of nature protection facilities when developing heavy industry, while construction workers do not make use of the resources allocated to them for these purposes.

That is why last year alone the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee twice examined in detail urgent measures to improve the environmental situation and radically restructure the whole area of nature conservation. In the past 3 years around R5 billion have been spent on protecting the environment in the republic, and that includes R1.3 billion of state capital investments. In the next 5-year plan state capital investments on nature protection measures are set to rise by 70 percent. The environmental, scientific, and technical appraisal of all projects under construction or reconstruction has become mandatory. Economic methods of nature protection work (payment for natural resources, increased fines, and so forth) are being actively introduced. Responsibility for observance of the law is being increased. It goes without saying that pooling the efforts of economic organs, soviets, and the public is essential for the successful solution of environmental problems.

Speaking about the state of affairs and tasks in the economy, V.V. Shcherbitskiy noted that restructuring processes here are complex. During the years of stagnation many problems built up. It is impossible to do everything at once or as we would like. Thus it is necessary to concentrate on resolving the priority tasks, the realistic tasks for this stage of development. And the most important thing of all is to work better and to promote restructuring more vigorously. Then the accumulated problems will be resolved more quickly, too.

In implementing the economic reform, he continued, we are striving to ensure that the economic mechanism provides incentives first and foremost for the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and the intensification of resource-saving, and that it serves to improve the situation in all the key areas of the national economy. This undoubtedly helped the republic to achieve the main indicators and in some cases to exceed the 5-year plan targets. This applies, in particular, to the rate of growth of national income, industrial production, the output of many types of goods in physical terms, and the production of livestock products. The targets for the supply of meat, milk, and eggs to union-republic stocks have been met. A good start has been made this year, too.

It is particularly important that there have been substantial improvements in the social reorientation of the economy. In the past 3 years state capital investments spent on social needs were R4.5 billion higher than envisaged by the 5-year plan. In particular, around 200,000 apartments above the plan target were commissioned, which corresponds to the half-yearly housing construction program. An extra 900,000 people received new apartments or improved housing conditions. The plans for the construction of hospitals and health centers were also fulfilled and the targets for the commissioning of schools and preschool establishments were exceeded.

Nevertheless, V.V. Shcherbitskiy noted, it cannot be said that we are satisfied with the results of work as a whole. The efforts made do not always translate into a perceptible improvement of people's living standard.

Take, for example, the problem of shortages. This problem arose because of the inadequate volumes of production of high quality goods and the failure of the commodity resources available to match the population's increased money incomes. The consumer market has been deregulated, and unsatisfied effective demand is growing. The size of the population's savings bank accounts increased noticeably. This is in many respects due to the fact that the wages growth rate in the republic's industry significantly exceeded the labor productivity growth rate: That is, money that was essentially unearned was being paid out without an adequate supply of goods to back it up.

Recently questions of the fundamental improvement of trade and the population's consumer services have been examined by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, the USSR Council of Ministers, and also the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's government. The activities of a number of leaders of ministries and departments and soviet organs have been assessed most rigorously. A target has been set: This year wages must be fully backed up by the production of consumer goods. To achieve this the republic must more than double the increase in production of those goods against last year's level, thus increasing production by R4.5 billion.

The speaker went on to stress that the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's government are occupied constantly, one might say every day, with questions of improving the food supply. And the results are there to see. Average annual procurements in the past 3 years compared with the previous 5-year plan in the republic increased as follows: meat in dressed weight rose by 500,000 tonnes (or 24 percent), and milk by 3 million tonnes (or 21 percent). This enabled the supply to be improved somewhat, particularly in milk products. Last year per capita consumption of meat was 68 kg and of milk 366 kg. This is 5 kg and 57 kg higher, respectively, than the average for the years of the previous 5-year plan.

So why is the situation in the stores patently unsatisfactory? There are various reasons here. The basic reason is that on many kolkhozes and sovkhozes livestock productivity remains low mainly because of the backlog in feed production and breeding work and the poor use of economic methods. To resolve the food problem it is necessary first of all to fundamentally restructure production and economic relations in the countryside on the basis of economic accountability and self-financing. This year 35 percent of the republic's farms are switching to the lease in crop production and stockraising and, in all, two-thirds of kolkhozes and sovkhozes will use the lease contract.

The second major lever is the acceleration of the social development of the countryside. Quite a lot has been done in this regard. Farms in a number of oblasts are working actively to recruit and retain young people, and a trend toward the stabilization of labor collectives has been established. However, this is only the beginning of tremendous work. A comprehensive program for the social reorganization of villages for the 12th 5-Year Plan and through the year 2000 has been formulated and is being implemented in the republic. It is planned to channel more than R35 billion into this.

Of course, in resolving the multifaceted problem of accelerating the social development of the countryside the help of the city is also needed, and not one-shot help but regular help, on a contractual basis. Note was made of the crucial significance of the work of the construction complex for resolving tasks in both the economy and the social sphere. That is why special attention has been paid for many years to strengthening the base of the construction industry and capital construction, and to improving the working and living conditions of construction workers in the republic.

After dwelling briefly on the republic's participation in international affairs, the candidate deputy noted that the constructive foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state, which has received broad support in the world, the rejection of the policy of confrontation, and the reduction of the Armed Forces and of conventional and nuclear armaments, are really averting the threat of war and freeing considerable material and financial resources for developing the social sphere.

To ensure that restructuring gathers momentum in all areas, V.V. Shcherbitskiy said in conclusion, it is necessary to step up practical work. In those places where people really buckle down to the solution of the new tasks, as it were, things will go well. Of course, this requires increased responsibility and greater efforts from each of us in our posts and at our places of work. The main force of restructuring is Communists and all the Soviet people. And no one will solve the tasks ahead for us. Only we ourselves, together, through concerted effort, can—and must—overcome all the difficulties and achieve what has been planned.

During his visit to Dnepropetrovsk Oblast 28 February to 2 March, V.V. Shcherbitskiy visited a number of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and industrial enterprises and had detailed conversations with kolkhoz members, workers, specialists, and party, soviet, and economic leaders.

At the "Progress" Kolkhoz and the "Solonyanskiy" poultry sovkhoz in Solonyanskiy Rayon there was a discussion about ways to increase the efficiency of agrarian production on farms and the prime reserves which must be used to achieve that. Great attention was paid to the introduction of progressive forms of labor organization, particularly the development of lease relations. The benefits of the lease contract here were graphically illustrated at the "Progress" Kolkhoz by the machine operators' link headed by 19th all-union party conference delegate S.Ya. Bazyuk. Last year the link produced six times more per worker than the kolkhoz average.

An active search for improved methods for the management of agricultural production is being conducted in Krinichanskiy Rayon, where in place of the rayon agro-industrial association they have set up the "Krinichki" agro-industrial association, which is led by the council of kolkhoz chairmen. The 39 specialists released have been transferred to work directly on farms, including at "Zarya kommunizma," the oblast's first cooperative farm [koopkhoz]. It is formed from 46 cooperatives created on the basis of sections, teams, and livestock units from the previous farm. As a result there has been a sharp reduction in production costs. The first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee asked about the structure of the cooperative farm, the system of mutual relations among the cooperative collectives, and the combination of this form of labor organization with the lease, and drew attention to the need to create their own processing enterprises.

Ways of transforming collective farms into highly productive and profitable agro-industrial complexes, recruiting young people to work on them, and resolving social tasks in the countryside were discussed during a visit to the "Progress" Kolkhoz in Krinichanskiy Rayon.

During the conversations rural workers spoke about their commitment to restructuring, their desire to deepen it with concrete deeds, and their support for the CPSU Central Committee's decisions aimed at further developing the agro-industrial complex. Serious complaints were leveled at the designers of agricultural equipment and the collectives of machine building enterprises which design and produce substandard, inadequate, yet at the same time expensive tractors, combines, and other units.

At the Krinichanskiy No 1 secondary school, V.V. Shcherbitskiy inquired about the restructuring of the academic process in accordance with the reform of public education.

In the town of Zheltyye Vody he visited shops at the synthetic fur factory and the "Novaya" mine belonging to the Eastern mining enrichment combine, familiarized himself with production and conditions of work, leisure, and health for enterprise workers, and talked with workers and miners.

There were conversations with members of the Dnepropetrovsk Obkom Bureau, the Solonyanskiy and Krinichanskiy Raykoms, and the Zheltyye Vody party gorkom, and it was stressed that the main thing today is to focus the efforts of party committees on the priority areas. Success here is determined by cadres, their initiative, and ability to organize work correctly. While preventing over-administration in work it is also necessary to increase the exactingness toward leaders at all levels and increase their personal responsibility for the practical end results.

V.V. Shcherbitskiy was accompanied on his tour by N.K. Zadoya, first secretary of Dnepropetrovskiy party obkom, and Yu.P. Babich, chairman of the oblispolkom.

Razumovskiy Comments on Party Role, Elections

LD0403215789 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 4 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Meetings between candidate people's deputies and the electors are continuing in the country.

There is a plastic processing association in Alma-Ata, (Zoltu). It is a local industry enterprise, yet its importance is by no means local or narrow. It produces more than 300 types of goods. The businesslike spirit of the collective was noted by Georgiy Petrovich Razumovskiy after conversations on the shop floor with workers and specialists. Georgiy Petrovich Razumovskiy also visited a diagnostic center which recently opened. Equipment such as this has until recently been the privilege of various scientific research institutes. Today, it is being used directly to improve people's health. In recent years the geologists of the republic have discovered promising new deposits of oil and of various ores. At the Institute of Geology, which the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee visited, there is anxiety about the fate of unintegrated and inefficient mining. The question of how to marry theoretical research and practice was discussed at the Academy of Sciences of Kazakhstan.

A meeting of the republican party aktiv was held today, at which a speech was delivered by Georgiy Petrovich Razumovskiy:

[Begin Razumovskiy recording] Dear comrades! As the political vanguard of the people, the party remains, now and for the future, an integral part of them, and gathers into its ranks the people's best representatives. To be such a vanguard is to be, in practice, the most enterprising, most bold and sober-minded, and best organized

part of society, and not at all some self-contained caste or hierarchically structured organization issuing and sending down from above directives commanding all public affairs. Restructuring needs a strong party. Without the vigorous activity of a party capable of scientifically interpreting the new social processes and elaborating the correct policy; without the organized and organizing actions of the party committees at all levels; without cadres that are competent and devoted to the cause—without all this—it is impossible to carry to a victorious conclusion the work that is meant to ensure the achievement by socialism of a qualitatively new condition.

The election of people's deputies of the USSR is an important milestone in the development of our political system. This act, by which the people declared their will, is without a doubt going to have far-reaching consequences for all spheres of the life of society. Before us lies the task of extending even further the process of all-around renewal of socialism, expanding and deepening it, making it irreversible. And if that is to be achieved, we must work, and work hard, with skill, initiative, and responsibility. The word work, which imposes great obligations on us in the most various combinations, becomes one of the key words in the political lexicon of restructuring. [end recording] [video shows Razumovskiy and his party visiting plastics factory, arriving at diagnostic center, Razumovskiy looking at rock specimens at geological institute, addressing officials seated at a long conference table, on platform at meeting of aktiv]

CPSU Politburo Discusses Agrarian Policies

LD0303230389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1935 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, 3 Mar (TASS)—The CPSU Central Committee Politburo, at its session of 2-3 March, examined matters linked with holding a regular CPSU Central Committee Plenum at which elections of USSR people's deputies from the CPSU are to be held. The tasks of implementing the CPSU agrarian policy in contemporary conditions are similarly to be discussed.

The following are invited to participate in the work of the plenum: the first secretaries of the union republic Communist Party central committees, kraykoms and gorkoms; the second secretaries of Communist Party central committees; chairmen of the union republic supreme soviet presidiums; chairmen of the union republic councils of ministers; ministers and leaders of central departments and organizations; commanders of military districts; candidates for people's deputies of the USSR from the CPSU who are not members of central CPSU bodies; a group of rayispolkom secretaries; leaders of farms; leaseholders; scientists; and other workers in the agro-industrial complex.

The Politburo thoroughly discussed the draft documents on implementing the CPSU agrarian policy in contemporary conditions and on developing the country's agro-industrial complex, which it is proposed to submit for examination by the Central Committee plenum. The session noted that the situation in the countryside and regarding the population's food supply requires radical changes in socialist production relations and a categorical rejection of administrative-command methods of leadership. The Politburo expressed support for proposals on the need to conduct production on a basis of combining varied forms of ownership and types of economic management—kolkhozes; sovkhozes; agro-industrial associations; processing enterprises; lease contractors; cooperatives; lease contracting collectives; peasant holdings; and the private subsidiary plots of citizens.

In accordance with the new conditions, the forms and methods of administering the agro-industrial complex should be changed, with the emphasis being placed on full economic independence, and on significant changes in planning and in the disposal of the output produced and income. The role of the union republics and local bodies is increasing in the development and administration of the agro-industrial complex.

Measures for consolidating the material and technical bases of the agro-industrial complex are being presented for examination by the plenum. In this, particular stress has been placed on the development of processing and storage, on improving transportation and sale of output, and on a resolute reduction in losses. Much space in the draft documents is assigned to radical transformations in the social sphere of the countryside, to the broad construction of roads, housing, schools and preschool establishments, to hospitals, cultural and everyday amenities, and to the development of the municipal economy.

Members of the CPSU Central Committee's commission on matters of agrarian policy, and scientists and specialists of planning and management bodies, took part in the discussion of the draft resolutions. While generally approving of the measures which are proposed, those who spoke made a number of suggestions on improving administration, planning, incentives, financing, and providing credit facilities in agriculture; on reinforcing the intensification of production; and on speeding up a solution to matters of social development in the countryside.

Speeches were made on the matters under discussion by members and candidate members of the Central Committee Politburo; also by Comrades V.S. Murakhovskiy, chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom; N.A. Nazarbayev, chairman of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers; A.F. Ponomarev, first secretary of the Belgorod Obkom; B.M. Volodin, first secretary of the Rostov Obkom; A.M. Masaliyev, first secretary of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee; I.K. Polozkov, first secretary of Krasnodar Kraykom; D.K. Motornyy, chairman of S.M. Kirov Kolkhoz in Belozerskiy Rayon, Kherson Oblast; V.I. Kalashnikov, first secretary of the Volgograd Obkom; A.A. Nikonov, president of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences; Ye.Ye. Sokolov, first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee;

N.F. Tatarchuk, first secretary of the Kalinin Obkom; S.K. Grossu, first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee; and M.I. Klepikov, leader of an integrated team at Kuban Kolkhoz in Ust-Labinskiy Rayon, Krasnodar Kray.

The Central Committe Politburo deemed it necessary to carry out further work on the documents in light of the discussion on them, and to submit them for examination to the CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

The session heard a report by M.S. Gorbachev on the results of his trip to the Ukrainian SSR. During numerous meetings and conversations in labor collectives, with the population of towns and villages, with representatives of the working class, the scientific and artistic intelligentsia, and with the republic party aktiv, the people vividly expressed their active position and their determination in raising restructuring to a new level and more widely putting its ideas into practice. They stressed the need to step up the activity of party committees in radically improving the style and content of restructuring, in ridding it of functions which are extraneous to it, in paying greater attention to work with people and for people, and in the democratization of party life.

The Politburo charged the party organs of the republic, and Communists who are leaders of the appropriate ministries and departments, to work out specific measures with regard to examining the critical remarks and questions put during meetings and conversations with working people and with the party and economic aktiv.

The results of the conversation between M.S. Gorbachev and B. Baye, member of the Workers Party of Ethiopia Central Committee Political Bureau and Ethiopian minister of foreign affairs, who delivered a message from Mengistu Haile Mariam, the leader of Ethiopia, were considered at the meeting. It was stressed that the Soviet Union was striving for for the development of cooperation with friendly Ethiopia, as was its readiness to assist in steps aimed at a just political solution of the Eritrean problem in the framework of a united Ethiopian state, and in the creation of a situation of good-neighbourliness and peace in the Horn of Africa.

The results of the conversation between M.S. Gorbachev and the talks of N.I. Ryzhkov with L. Adamec, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the CSSR Government, who was in the USSR on an official friendly visit, were also approved. They again confirmed the unity of approaches of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia to the necessity of restructuring and socialist renewal, to resolving problems of socialist economic integration, and to the assertion, in international life, of new political thinking.

The understandings that have been achieved, and the conception that has been adopted for economic, scientific, and technical cooperation between the USSR and the CSSR for 15-20 years, are creating favorable conditions for revealing the potential for their more effective cooperation, for forming plans for the countries' development over the immediate 5 year period and in the longer term. The adherence of both countries to the cause of real disarmament, of improving the international situation, and of strengthening universal peace was stressed.

The Politburo listened to a report by A.P. Biryukova on her working visit to the Republic of India. It was noted that the meetings between leaders of both countries that have taken place recently have laid a good foundation for deepening trade and economic relations between the USSR and India. It was deemed necessary to step up practical work to implement existing agreements, in particular in the sphere of consumer goods production and trade, and to develop new and progressive forms of Soviet-Indian cooperation.

The Politburo examined the results of conversations between A.I. Lukyanov and state political figures from Japan, which had taken place during a visit to Tokyo by a USSR delegation to take part in the funeral of Emperor Hirohito. The importance of widening political dialogue between the USSR and Japan on a broad range of issues in the interests of enriching bilateral relations was stressed. The usefulness of meetings with the leaders of other states who were present in Tokyo was noted.

Earthquake Hits Kirghizia 5 Mar; No Casualties

LD0503115489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1133 GMT 5 Mar 89

[Text] Frunze, 5 Mar (TASS)—An earthquake with a force of four points [scale not further identified] at the epicenter occurred in Kirghizia (Soviet Republic in Central Asia) today at 0303. As the Seismology Institute of the Kirghizia Academy of Sciences has reported, the epicenter of the underground tremor was 35 km southeast of Kara-Kul in the spurs of the Fergana mountain range. In Kara-Kul and the rayon center, the Toktogul settlement, the force of the earthquake was felt at four points. According to preliminary data there are no casualties or damages.

Second Quake Hits on 5 Mar

LD0603074989 Moscow TASS in English 0741 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Frunze March 6 TASS—Another earthquake hit northern Kirghizia at 1648 Moscow time on Sunday [5 March], causing insignificant damage to old buildings, but no casualties.

According to the Central Asian republic's Institute of Seismology, the quake measured force six on the 12-point Soviet scale in the epicentre, which was 50 kilometres south east of Frunze, force five in the village of Issyk-Ata, and force four in the cities of Frunze, Tokmak, Kant, and Shopokov.

Earthquake Commission Uncovers Shoddy Construction
PM0303155789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
3 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5

[Interview with Colonel General K. Vertelov, chief of the USSR Defense Ministry State Evaluation and Inspection Commission, by Ye. Sorokin, under the rubric "From Authoritative Sources": "Were the Elements Alone to Blame?"; place, date not given; first two paragraphs are PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] Looking at the piles of rubble in the earthquake region, none of us can help asking: Why did buildings constructed 3-4 years ago collapse, while many of those erected earlier remained standing?

As is known, a state commission has been set up to ascertain this. The editors asked Colonel General K. Vertelov, the commission's deputy chairman, to speak about its work. Konstantin Mikhaylovich is a Hero of Socialist Labor, a winner of the Lenin Prize and of the USSR State Prize, and chief of the USSR Defense Ministry State Evaluation and Inspection Commission.

[Sorokin] Konstantin Mikhaylovich, a few words, please, about the commission's composition.

[Vertelov] It was formed 21 December last year by order of the USSR Council of Ministers. The commission is headed by A. Krivov, deputy chairman of the State Committee for Architecture. Its members are leaders of a number of academy institutes: the Institutes of Earth Physics, Geophysics and Engineering Seismology, and Construction Mechanics and Seismic Stability. Leading specialists of other institutes are involved.

Work is being carried out in three spheres: seismology, planning quality, and construction quality. Seismologists, for example, are studying the materials of the shocks already recorded, and analyzing new observations. They have now carried out a calibrating underground explosion of 100 kg charge, and are preparing another, more powerful one of 5,000 kg. This is necessary to determine the precise coordinates and depth of the seat of an earthquake in the earth's crust, and to assess its energy.

A subcommission headed by Kh. Asamov, director of the State Architecture Committee's Tashkent Zonal Scientific Research Institute of Experimental Planning, is tackling questions of planning quality. At the same time three specialized organizations are, in parallel and independently, making an expert appraisal of every design with which collapsed buildings were constructed. Then the expert conclusions will be generalized.

I have been entrusted with leading the subcommission which is ascertaining the quality of construction. This work is extremely complex. We have to analyze the entire technological cycle—ranging from the extraction of sand and gravel to the state of quality control on the construction site.

[Sorokin] Today we are clearly aware of the negative consequences—social and ecological—of delimiting the "economic" and the "moral" in our life. The disaster in Armenia revealed particularly sharply how interdependent we all are in this world. Let us recall Gazli [Central Asian earth quake some years ago], for example. There, miscalculations by seismologists were compounded by incomplete work on the part of planners and construction workers. Many PRAVDA readers are sure that the tragedy of irresponsibility was repeated in Armenia....

[Vertelov] The way this question is formulated is perfectly legitimate. But it would be unfair to blame seismologists alone. For several years ago they were required to ensure that the seismic zoning charts which they compiled "should not increase construction costs."

I will repeat, however, that it is not a question of seismology alone. Because in Gazli, many buildings remained standing, and there was no mass devastation or loss of life. Well-constructed buildings also remained standing in Leninakan, Kirovakan, and Stepanavan. So, considering the problem comprehensively, special attention should be paid to the quality of planning and construction.

[Sorokin] Does your commission have methods, apparatus, and equipment up to world standards? Can you guarantee the absolute objectivity of future conclusions? Will you be able in every case to name the specific guilty party, or will the conclusions have the nature of "recommendations"?

[Vertelov] Unfortunately, we did not have uniform methods for inspecting such buildings, or classifications of the degree of destruction with the force of a compulsory state normative. The commission had to begin its work with precisely this. But we have at our disposal the entire range of apparatus produced in the country. We also use the latest U.S.-made apparatus. Mindful of the whole seriousness of the set tasks, we will, I am sure, ensure full objectivity both in assessing the materials of inspections and tests and in formulating conclusions. And specific organizations to blame for the bad quality of construction will be named.

At the same time, the purpose of the commission's work is also to enhance the efficiency of scientific research in the sphere of seismology and earthquake-proof construction, to amplify legislative normatives for the planning and development of appropriate designs and construction technology, and to find and produce new construction materials.

As regards strengthening technological discipline, this is the number one question, as it were, for those who build in seismically dangerous regions. We need skilled worker cadres and engineering and technical personnel who have received special training. It is also necessary evidently, to amplify the training programs of rural vocational and technical schools, technical colleges, and VUZ's. We will set forth our views on this in a report to the government.

[Sorokin] And the final question: When can we expect the commission's conclusions?

[Vertelov] The government has set a clear deadline—the end of the first quarter of 1989. It would be premature now to draw final conclusions and generalizations from the materials obtained. I can cite only individual examples. Thus, in the city of Leninakan an inspection has been made of a nine-story skeleton-type bearing-wall apartment block—No 12, Shirakatsi Street—constructed for Leninakan Gorispolkom Capital Construction Administration in 1978 by the No 46 Construction Administration of the Armenian SSR Construction Ministry's "Lenstroy" Trust. The building was construced to a design of the 111 series meant to withstand a force 8 load. As a result of the earthquake two sections of the building collapsed entirely, and a third section partially. The remainder of the building was inclining 3-4 degrees from the vertical and was on the verge of falling at the time of the inspection. Specialists express the opinion that the building's design is extremely bad. All the buildings constructed to this design in Leninakan collapsed. But very flagrant deviations from construction norms and regulations and from technology were also brought to light during an engineer's inspection of the extant structures and assemblies of building No 12. Typical shoddy workmanship!

The quality of construction of an eight-story hotel in Dilizhan has been checked—its construction started after the tragedy. The design was drawn up by the "Armkommunproyekt" Institute of the Armenian SSR Ministry of Municipal Services; it is designed to withstand a force 8 earthquake. The building is being erected by the No 50 Construction Administration (K. Akhverdyan, administration chief) of the Armenian Construction Ministry's No 12 Construction Trust (Z. Ovsepyan, trust manager). Approximately 70 percent of the work had been carried out at the time of the check. And again, very flagrant violations of the construction norms and regulations were revealed. And this at a time when the pain caused by what the people have lived through has not yet subsided!

Of course, in such cases the state commission gives the necessary instructions. But it would be better if there were no need for them.

Baku Worker Detained for Disruption Attempts

NC0603083889 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Notice by the Military Commandant's Administration of the Baku City Special District]

[Text] The situation in the city remained unchanged during the day. It was peaceful. Thanks to the [word indistinct] work by [words indistinct], the task of implementing measures to safeguard public law and order and obstruct violations of law is being realized.

Abbasov Mirbala Kara oglu, a skilled worker of [word indistinct] department of the Kirov factory, has been detained for 30 days under administrative procedure in accordance with the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's decree, dated 23 November 1988. Abbasov Mirbala Kara oglu actively tried to disrupt the situation in the factory with his anti-social behavior in November and December 1988.

Irrespective of [words indsitinct], Abbasov failed to draw conclusions and continued to try to create an unhealthy situation in the city and the factory. He tried to disrupt public law and order and criticize the factory management and workers.

Abbasov's anti-social behavior and calls for disrupting the situation were not supported by the factory [word indistinct] and his behavior was assessed from a principled stand. Abbasov was removed from his post and discharged for trying to incite interethnic discord and provoke the disruption of public law and order. [passage indistinct]

[Signed] The Military Commandant's Administration of the Baku City Special District.

Baku Curfew Violations Reported

NC0603090089 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 4 Mar 89

[Notice by the Military Commandant of the Baku City Special District]

[Text] The (?situation was) peaceful during the day. A business-like atmosphere continued to prevail. A normal rhythm of work was maintained in the industrial establishments, transportation sector, and administrations.

A total of 87 people and 15 vehicles were detained for violating the curfew last night. No violations of public law and order were recorded.

[Signed] Lieutenant General Kolesnikov, Military Commandant of the Baku City Special District.

Flag-Waving in Armenia Denounced as 'Provocation'
PM0303124589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Mar 89 First Edition p 4

[Report by special correspondent Lieutenant Colonel O. Falichev under the rubric "Reading Between the Lines of the Report": "In the Quiet City of Abovyan...."]

[Text] Yerevan—"An attempt has been made to organize and hold an unsanctioned rally in the city of Abovyan. As many as 1,000 people assembled, mainly members of the intelligentsia and students, some of whom had come from Yerevan.

"Those assembled carried slogans of an inflammatory nature and more than 20 tricolor flags...." From an information report by the military commandant of the Yerevan City Special Region.

Abovyan is a small city near Yerevan. It is usually quite quiet—I would describe it as a small provincial town in some respects. In comparison to the capital of the republic, there have been considerably fewer breaches of public order here on ethnic grounds. That is possibly why no special situation or curfew has been introduced in the city. This was primarily what those who came here to stage their unsanctioned demonstration had decided to exploit. So how did events develop?

The demonstrators made for the party raykom. People in the crowd called for the release of members of the "Karabakh" Committee, retribution against Azerbaijanis, and a boycott of the forthcoming USSR people's deputy elections. Naturally, law and order bodies urged the demonstrators to disperse, but this prompted cries of indignation. The internal forces showed restraint and calm, and this caused some confusion among the demonstrators. Some began demanding that the culture center be made available for a rally, while others moved off in the direction of the bus depot....

But, to my mind, the fact that the situation in the city remained calm is primarily thanks to people other than the militia and the internal troops. The visiting demonstrators did not have the support of the city residents themselves. They particularly did not have the support of the working people. I heard those who had come to the city accusing people in Abovyan of failing to turn up for the event, which had been planned for some time. I heard a worker who happened to come by at that moment guardedly say: "Strikes hit our pockets—and we have to feed our families."

There are possibly not many examples like this one, but I feel, nevertheless, that it is very indicative of how the rabble-rousers and loudmouths are losing their support. It is also indicative of how the people seem to be gradually reassessing the values and appeals upheld by "Karabakh" Committee activists. They are coming to realize where these people want to lead the republic and what really lies behind their political platform.

Unfortunately, there are still a considerable number of people blinded by the ideas of national exclusivity tossed around by the committee members. Particularly young people. When I asked one of the students, called Ashot, why he was here and not in class, and why he was carrying the tricolor flag, he replied: "This is the only national flag we have. And what difference does it make how many colors it has?"

It is indeed true that the colors are possibly not the main issue here. So what is the main issue?

On 29 November 1920, through the will and desire of the working people, Armenia was proclaimed a Soviet Socialist Republic in the Declaration of the Revolutionary Committee. Henceforth, the Red Banner was called on to protect the land of Armenia from the age-old yoke of oppression, and lift it from the abyss of misery and despair. However, it was soon the lot of the Armenian people to suffer new ordeals. In the middle of February 1921, a Dashnak anti-Soviet uprising broke out and, seizing Yerevan and a number of other cities, the Dashnaks established the so-called "Committee for the Salvation of the Motherland" led by S. Bratsyan, former head of the Dashnak government, and announced the overthrow of Soviet power. A country of refugees and orphans, bled white during the years of Dashnak domination and in the grip of devastation, hunger, and epidemics, found itself under the Dashnaks' heel again. The tragedy was heightened by the fact that many regions of the country were occupied by Turkish invaders, who were systematically exterminating the civilian population. This, incidentally, did not trouble the Dashnak leaders. Quite the reverse—they were soon to sign the Aleksandropol Treaty with Turkey, under which the whole of Armenia was in fact placed under its protectorate.

"The logical conclusion of the Dashnaks' adventurist policies was their appeal to Turkey for military aid," Candidate of Historical Sciences S. Abramyan, scientist and secretary of the Armenian branch of the Marxism-Leninism Institute, wrote in an article entitled "Soviet Armenia Remains Unshakable," published in the republic newspaper KOMMUNIST on 18 February this year.

As we can see, the Dashnak leaders who tried to become the leaders of the Armenian people were corrupt and remote from the needs of ordinary people. Even genocide did not stop them from entering into a compact with those who were murdering and oppressing the Armenian people. However, the true aims of the treaty were not paraded. Under the protection of the tricolor flag, they broadcast slogans about the defense of national interests and patriotism.... This makes it all the more surprising to see the same brightly colored item in the hands of some young people today.

I will allow that the young man called Ashot does not know all this. The matter is far more complicated when it comes to those who consciously and deliberately

proclaim not so much national as nationalistic slogans. Those who well understand what kind of flag they are brandishing and what it stands for.

It transpired that someone called B. Yengibaryan—an active associate of the "Karabakh" Committee who used to be the leader of a construction organization, and who tore up his party membership card in front of demonstrators—had tried to lead the demonstration in Abovyan. When the members of the "Karabakh" Committee were walking around in freedom, Yengibaryan had not taken the stage so often. It is only recently that his name has begun to appear increasingly often in information reports issued by the military commandant. Everything he said then and everything he is calling for now allow us to conclude that he is trying to assume the role of spiritual ruler of young people's hearts and minds. Many of his speeches are directed at young people. Here are some of the appeals he has made in the past in Yerevan's Theater Square: "We demand economic independence for our republic! We must go on with the strike! Young people, wake up! We must fight to the finish!" Yengibaryan is not even loath to use children for his own ends. At one rally, for example, he announced—not without pride—the fruits of his work in Abovyan: "Children have been going round enterprises and shaming their parents who are not taking part in the strike."

That is how it is! Children are merely a means of achieving unseemly aims. This latter-day leader is little concerned with what effect this will have on their minds and on their future. His main aim is to stir up the masses and inflame national passions. "It would be better if these people directed their strength and energy toward restoring the devastated regions," K. Kavazyan, secretary of the Leninakan Meat Canning Combine Party Committee, said when we were discussing the combine's problems and serious housing issues.

It is true that a considerable number of problems have accumulated in the republic. The Armenian SSR State Committee for Statistics recently published a report. Many of the figures are alarming. Plans for social development in 1988 were not met. Economic growth is below the all-union level. The planned annual target for commissioning clubs, cultural centers, and clinics was met by only 25 percent. Plans for commissioning hospitals, schools, and preschool institutions have not been met. A total of 25,000 people perished in the disaster zone, and another 19,000 were maimed and injured. How, under these conditions, is it possible to take people away from their creative work by calling for strike action?

Unfortunately, V. Yengibaryan is not alone in his inflammatory activity—there is no other word for it. On 17 February, a car was stopped in Yerevan and M. Georgisyan, D. Akopyan, and D. Bichokhchan were found to be in possession of duplicated printed literature of a nationalist, inflammatory nature. On 19 February, G. Tangiyan, a philology student at the State University, was arrested outside the "Children's World" Store for inciting migrants to antisocial actions. The day before, men under Colonel Grishanov had found leaflets pinned to trees, mail boxes, and posts in the city. They urged people to hang out the tricolor flag on their balconies on 18 February, the day of the anti-Soviet Dashnak uprising in 1921. "If anyone should waver in the struggle for our only salvation—independence," the leaflets read, "that person is an enemy of the Armenian people."

All this shows that there are forces which are consciously trying to destabilize the situation, for which the tricolor flag is not simply a symbol but an incitement to action and insubordination. What is more, if someone should have a different opinion on the matter, he is declared an enemy. One asks, is this the pluralism some activists say they are struggling for, while in fact pursuing a policy of moral and psychological pressure?

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee has given an unequivocal appraisal of this phenomenon. In a conversation with me, G. Asatryan, head of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Ideology Department, said:

"All this is the work of provocateurs. The tricolor flag was used in the past by our ideological and political enemies. That is why we regard its appearance as an act of provocation against Soviet Armenia."

A very important point, in my view, was expressed by S. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, at a recent Armenian Communist Party Central Committee plenum: "This has shown the inability of our ideological workers and also our party committees to conduct real live work among the masses in a convincing, cogent manner. Therein lies the whole complexity of the political situation and, I would say, the tragic development of events, which has brought us to the brink of crisis."

It is a pity that we are making a bad job of learning the art of real live work. We need to go to the people, consult with the people, and together look for ways to resolve these complex problems. We need to hold our own flags high!

Uzbek Supreme Soviet Elects New Chairman

LD0603105789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1030 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Tashkent, 6 Mar (TASS)—A new chairman of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet Presidium was elected today at an extraordinary session of the republic's Supreme Soviet. He is Mirzaolim Ibragimov, age 61. He is a pedagogue by profession. He worked as a teacher in a rural school, and in ten of the Komsomol, party, local soviet, and economic bodies of that Soviet Central Asia Republic. In particular, he was first secretary of the Uzbek Komsomol Central Committee, minister of the

cotton cleaning industry, and chairman of the Committee for Physical Culture and Sports. Mirzaolim Ibragimov has recently been working as Uzbekistan's permanent representative at the USSR Council of Ministers in Moscow.

The deputies have released Pulat Khabibullayev from his duties as chairman of the Uzbikistan Supreme Soviet Presidium. He spent less than a year in the post. The reason for his dismissal is that facts of his previous activities were released at a recent conference of the Communists of Tashkent. While occupying leading positions in the republican Academy of Sciences, Pulat Khabibullayev unlawfully secured the careers of relatives of the former leaders of Uzbekistan, the party and state leaders Sharaf Rashidov, Inamzhon Usmankhodzhayev, and Normakhamandi Khudayberdyyev, who have compromised themselves.

Slyunkov Addresses Tashkent Aktiv, Ends Uzbek Tour
PM0203141189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Mar 89 Second Edition pp 2,3

[TASS report: "The Economy: Through Renewal to Improvement"; for previous reports see the 2 March Soviet Union DAILY REPORT pp 72-74]

[Text] Tashkent, 1 Mar—All work to deepen restructuring is now proceeding under the profound influence of the CPSU Central Committee Election Address to the Party and the Soviet People. The party's penetrating, galvanizing words call for active efforts in the implementation of revolutionary transformations. The address commits communists and everyone nominated as candidates for USSR people's deputy to a great deal. This was stressed by members of the Uzbek SSR party and economic aktiv during a meeting with N.N. Slyunkov, candidate for USSR people's deputy from the CPSU, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The meeting took place today in Tashkent.

The developing restructuring processes in the republic and the overcoming of negative accretions from the era of stagnation were discussed by: R.N. Nishanov, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee; G.S. Mirazimova, first secretary of the Tashkent Oblast Ordzhonikidzevskiy party raykom; Yu.I. Stepanenko, lathe operator at the "Tashselmash" Production Association; Z. Pirnazarov, team leader at the "Madaniyat" Sovkhoz in Karauzyakskiy Rayon, Kara-Kalpak ASSR; A. Yakubov, chairman of the Uzbek Writers Union Board Presidium; N.I. Agapova, spinner at the Namangan 50th Anniversary of the Uzbek SSR Silk Production Association; N. Kayumov, director of the "50 Years of the October Revolution" Sovkhoz in Dustlikskiy Rayon, Syr-Darya Oblast; G.N. Yan, director of the Navoi Electrochemical Plant; M. Rakhmanova, teacher at the Kh. Alimdzhan Secondary School in Koshkupyrskiy Rayon, Khorezm Oblast; I. Iskanderov, chairman of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences Council for the Location of Production Forces; and Yu. Makhsumov, leaseholder at the F. Khodzhayev Kolkhoz in Karakulskiy Rayon, Bukhara Oblast. The speakers called for the strengthening of the Soviet peoples' friendship and fraternity, which have been put to the test in so many ordeals, and urged that everything possible be done to harmonize relations among all nations and ethnic groups in the Soviet Union.

The meeting was addressed by N.N. Slyunkov, who expressed his appreciation to the party organizations, labor collectives, and everyone who submitted and supported the proposal to nominate him as candidate for deputy.

The fourth year of restructuring is coming to a close, the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee said. It has stirred the people, the country, and the whole world with its revolutionary plans and practical actions.

A great deal has changed in this time. Together with the people, the party has developed major transformations in all spheres of life. The 19th All-Union Party Conference was a very important political landmark in restructuring. It opened a new stage in restructuring by generalizing the theoretical and organizational work done by the Central Committee to lead the restructuring process and developed the concept of reforming our society's political system.

Of fundamental importance is the fact that political reform has begun with restructuring in the party itself, the reorganization of its apparatus, the democratic renewal of its work forms and methods, and the demarcation of functions between party and soviet bodies. The CPSU sets the tone of restructuring, is in the vanguard of all positive processes, and consistently implements the policy of the 27th congress to enhance the role of collective elected bodies.

A major task of the first stage in political reform is to solve the problem of constitutional-state building.

The country is coming up to the elections, when the Congress of People's Deputies will be formed through the free will of the working people, together with a new system of state bodies. This will represent the start of the practical realization of the most important idea of political reform: Full power to the soviets.

The elections are a major landmark in the revolutionary renewal of society, which is evidenced by the developing election campaign, N.N. Slyunkov continued. You can see what enthusiasm and how much initiative it has generated. The people are not indifferent to who will work in the highest body of authority and how they will work. The soviets' function as real bodies of people's power is being revived.

We are all involved in the revolutionary renewal of society. Major political decisions have been developed and adopted in order to carry through the program of renewal, and the processes of democratization and glasnost are rapidly developing. Radical economic reform is gathering momentum—albeit still slowly.

The secretary of the CPSU Central Committee noted that restructuring signifies a fundamentally new socioeconomic policy, the pivot of which is the social reorientation of the economy, improvement in people's well-being, and improvement in the lives of Soviet people. This work focuses on the individual, with his concerns and interests. This approach accords with the nature of our economic and political system and with Marxist-Leninist ideology, which has always been and remains the ideology of social justice. That is why the party attaches paramount importance to the renewal of the economy and regards it as a highly important political task.

The stagnation phenomena particularly affected the economic sphere. The administrative-edict system was a brake on our progress. The result is that a country with powerful scientific, production, and cadre potential and a wealth of resources began to fall behind in its economic development and lost its dynamism and efficiency.

Geared to the achievement of a qualitatively new level of socialist development, restructuring has won the support of the overwhelming majority of the population. We are all living and breathing restructuring. The creativity of the masses is producing new forms of economic and political life. The process of making our economy more healthy has begun as a result of implementing the policy of restructuring.

For the second year in succession, the national income and industrial output are growing solely as a result of improved labor productivity. During the last 2 years, we have succeeded in achieving qualitative social structural progress and the preferential development of sectors in the "B" group. Particular attention is being devoted to priority areas in the development of the national economy and primarily to questions of scientific and technical progress and the radical modernization of the machine-building sector. In this sector, the renewal of output has increased from 3.1 percent in 1985 to 11.4 percent in 1988. Urgent measures have been taken to develop the electronics industry, and the concept of an information-rich society is being developed. The intention is to take the power industry, the chemical industry, and the petrochemical industry to new heights. In the interests of accelerating scientific and technical progress, the system of improving qualifications and retraining cadres for the national economy is being restructured.

The processes of improving the economy are also typical of the Uzbek SSR. Last year saw the first signs of the republic's economy emerging from its serious problems. The produced national income grew by 5.1 percent in 1988. The materials-intensiveness of production fell by almost 1 percent. There are also other signs of an upswing in the economy. The Uzbek SSR is gradually moving onto a path of acceleration. This is largely the result of the salutary work done by communists and the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee. It is also the result of the work done by all of the republic's working people.

The broadest masses of working people are playing an interested part in the creative work to renew socialism's material base, but, assessing the renewal processes, the party leadership is not being complacent but is realistically assessing and critically analyzing the sociopolitical processes in society and the state of the economy. We are aware that we are at the very beginning of restructuring. The achievement of the strategic aims set by the 27th CPSU Congress and the fulfillment of the 12th 5-year plan tasks are experiencing difficulties and falling behind. The heavy legacy of stagnation is largely keeping the economy on an extensive course. No breakthrough has been achieved in scientific and technical progress, the saving of resources, or improvement in output quality. The retooling and restructuring of the national economy is not moving fast enough.

No effective measures have yet been taken to make the national economy financially healthier and strengthen the policy of thrift. Losses from unprofitable enterprises and organizations amount to R11 billion per year. This is where parasitism and leveling are firmly rooted. They can only be eradicated by increasing economic responsibility for work results and improving labor organization and remuneration, so that every working person can really appreciate the close link between his material well-being and the financial state of his enterprise.

In addition to the well-known negative legacy from the past, phenomena such as group egoism and, in some places, regional egoism have begun to appear in the new economic mechanism. With the tacit consent of labor collective councils, some leaders of enterprises are trying, in the conditions of economic accountability, to increase their profits not by reducing production costs but by raising prices on products, refusing to manufacture goods which people need in their daily life at the current lower prices, and phasing out cheap goods which do not bring them a profit. These processes have been given a timely, tough, but correct party appraisal and measures of economic influence have been taken.

Analysis of the developing economic situation in the country brings us to an important conclusion: In order to ensure the switch to an intensive course, the most active factor must be brought into play—to radically restructure the national economy, optimize intersectoral and intrasectoral proportions, and consistently improve the development of production forces. The questions of rationalizing the structure of social production, introducing the new economic mechanism, and improving

production relations are questions of creating a highly dynamic economy and increasing its mobility and receptiveness to scientific and technical progress.

N.N. Slyunkov dwelt in detail on questions of qualitative growth in the sectors of the economy which work for people. The party, he said, is concentrating its main attention on the key problems: resolving the food problem, saturating the market with high-quality industrial goods as soon as possible, and dealing with the housing problem. Discussing the most serious social problems, the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee drew the attention of the republic's aktiv and leadership to the fact that far from all of Uzbekistan's reserves and potential have been brought into play.

He went on to say that the poor performance of the republic's national economy is primarily due to the slow pace at which existing enterprises are being modernized and retooled, the inadequate use of production capacities, the insignificant effect of measures to save natural resources and material and technical resources, the slow growth in working people's qualifications, and poor economic and labor discipline. A heavy burden of unresolved problems has built up in the agroindustrial complex and primarily in agriculture.

The Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's government have submitted a draft program to the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers to increase the return on production potential and introduce modern methods of administration and economic management. Your proposals, N.N. Slyunkov said, are being studied and decisions will be taken on them; the USSR Gosplan is drafting a program for the long-term development of production forces in the Central Asian region. But there is no time to lose, the CPSU Central Committee secretary stressed. The republic's economic and social problems can be solved over the next few years by increasing the return on the production potential created. The possibilities for this do exist. All work must be radically restructured and its economic and organizational level raised.

Within the complex of measures for effecting radical economic reform, the tasks of restructuring management and the economy in their regional aspect and broadening the union republics' rights and responsibility for economic and social development in their territory have exceptionally important significance.

The existing economic mechanism is outmoded, as it was built without due consideration for regional factors. There is no connection between the size of income and the results produced by economic activity in the territory, which gives rise to parasitism and attempts to secure more unearned resources from the country's budget by redistributing the national income of other regions. Weak territorial management means that many regional, economic, social, and ecological problems are not resolved for a long time or are solved without consideration for local interests, thereby becoming the focus of serious contradictions, which, in our country's conditions, rebound on interethnic relations.

At the contemporary stage of development preconditions have objectively taken shape for strengthening the territorial approach in management in the interests of the social and economic development of each republic, oblast, city, and rayon with due regard for the republics' national and social-historical features, other autonomies, natural and climatic conditions, and economic potential. Therefore the need to substantially extend the sphere of economic independence of republics and regions and the switch to self-management at regional level are a very important principle in restructuring territorial management. Such a switch is an important component of the reform of the political system under way in the country, which is aimed at democratizing our society and reviving the soviets' sovereignty. Simultaneously with the transfer of a number of functions and rights to the republics from the center it is necessary to extend the powers of soviet organs locally and create a financial and material base for them.

Strict observance of the principle of social justice is one of the most important conditions for improving and harmonizing interethnic relations.

It is important that party organs do not lose the initiative here but take really vanguard positions in formulating and resolving urgent problems.

Whatever aspect of the economy's renewal we consider, each one is linked in one way or another with investment policy and capital construction. Things are changing for the better here only slowly, the CPSU Central Committee secretary pointed out. We have not yet achieved a reduction in the duration of the investment cycle. The number of projects under construction is falling only slowly, and above-normative uncompleted construction is growing as a result. All this diverts material, labor, and financial resources and reduces the increase in national income. In Uzbekistan, for example, construction times for industrial projects are more than twice the norm.

In addition to the shift toward people's needs and the policy of intensification, the restructuring of production relations through a multicomponent and comprehensive economic reform is a very important element of the new socioeconomic policy. We must enter the next 5-year plan with a new system of management. We must complete the transfer of enterprises to full economic accountability, self-financing, and self-management, reform price formation, radically restructure the work of banks with their transfer to economic accountability, basically substitute multichannel wholesale trade in the means of production for centralized material and technical supplies, and also complete the measures for the first stage of the organizational restructuring of management and the abolition of obsolete normative acts.

Consequently, the foundations of an integrated system of management and administration will be formed by the beginning of the 13th 5-Year Plan, and this system will ensure the full application of the USSR Law "On the State Enterprise (Association)" and the USSR Law "On Cooperatives in the USSR." In the 13th 5-Year Plan wider use will be made of the "second model of economic accountability," in which the effect of the dependence of labor remuneration on end results is greater. Lease relations on a long-term basis will be developed in industry and agriculture. A switch will be made from centralized normatives for the distribution of economically accountable income and the formation of the wages fund to a system of regulating them based on taxation.

Our internal transformations are sharply extending the potential for the Soviet economy's organic inclusion in the world economy—which in turn will contribute to its modernization and help to enhance its efficiency. Of special significance is the qualitative restructuring of the entire mechanism of the CEMA countries' cooperation, including the creation of conditions for the gradual formation of a united socialist market. Cooperation with the CEMA countries remains a priority. We regard it as a powerful factor in strengthening and developing the economies of the USSR and the other fraternal countries, N.N. Slyunkov emphasized.

He devoted the concluding part of his speech to the new nature of relations between party and soviet organs on the basis of the delimitation of their functions. Political methods and political approaches are now coming to the fore in party work, including the leadership of the economy. Such is the logic of restructuring. Organization, unity, profundity of thought, clarity of speech, efficiency of work—this is what the party needs more than ever today.

In conclusion N.N. Slyunkov said:

"The socioeconomic platform with which the party is entering the elections is being amplified and concretized during the election campaign, and new ideas and proposals are emerging. We are prepared to debate any issue, are inclined to accept everything constructive that benefits socialism, and intend to refute in a well-reasoned manner those views that drag us back. The unity of the party and the people will undoubtedly be strengthened as a result of the elections. And this will be the chief guarantee of the qualitative renewal of socialism and of the success of restructuring."

How is restructuring going, what are people concerned about, which problems need to be resolved?—these questions were at the center of attention in N.N. Slyunkov's talks with workers, kolkhoz members, scientists, and specialists during his stay in Uzbekistan from 27 February through 1 March.

The meetings were lent a businesslike nature by his first visit to the collective of the "Tashkentskiy Traktornyy Zavod imeni 50-Letiya SSSR" Production Association. The CPSU Central Committee secretary familiarized himself with the latest developments by the enterprise designers and also shared his views on bottlenecks in the collective's work. The new row-crop tractor model is promising, he said, but in order to put it into series production the association must be modernized, thoroughly reequipped, and reoriented toward production of more sophisticated equipment.

I remember what your enterprise was like 10 years ago, N.N. Slyunkov said. Much has changed for the better since then. But our task is to energetically surmount the barriers of laggardness and create machines of a class that meets the highest demands of both our own and foreign customers. It is also good that you produce a wide range of high-quality consumer goods.

His familiarization with life in the republic and with the affairs and concerns of its working people was continued in Samarkand and its oblast. The first meeting was with workers and specialists of the "Elektrobytmash" Production Association. The conversation at once took a businesslike turn: Questions of further developing production and improving people's working and living conditions were raised pointedly. Your refrigerators are up to the best Soviet standards, N.N. Slyunkov said, but why should you not be set the maximum task of becoming legislators of "fashion" in the world? Some of our leaders are accustomed to formulating the issue like this: We work no worse than others. Few people say: Let us be first and out of reach.

There was a frank discussion with the residents of a settlement in an industrial zone and with association workers frec from their shift. The CPSU Central Committee secretary answered questions associated with the progress of restructuring. Problems which are still waiting to be resolved—the housing problem, the problem of the services sphere, the food problem—were raised in the discussion. During meetings with the working people of the Engels and "Moskva" Kolkhozes in Samarkandskiy Rayon mention was made of the profitable running of the economy and the application of the lease and the family contract. The CPSU Central Committee secretary remarked that many farm leaders have not overcome the ossified practice of counting only the harvest increase and the growth in milk and meat production. They forget about profitability and about calculations of what this costs.

During talks among the collective of the Tashkent V.P. Chkalov Aviation Production Association, which the CPSU Central Committee secretary visited on the final day of his stay in Uzbekistan, attention was drawn to the need to improve progressive forms of labor and to improve everyday and leisure conditions for workers and their families.

A visit was made to the "Limonariy" Kolkhoz-Combine, where citrus fruits are grown year round under hothouse conditions. In a discussion with specialists the CPSU Central Committee secretary made a high assessment of the scientific, selection work of Z. Fakhrutdinov, honorary academician of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences, and of his followers in creating new high-yielding strains of citrus fruits rich in vitamins and trace elements.

During the meetings and talks there was wide discussion of the state of working people's ideological-political, international, and moral education and of questions of work under conditions of the restructuring of party and economic cadres.

N.N. Slyunkov met with members and candidate members of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, Central Committee department chiefs, the leadership of the republic Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers, party obkom first secretaries, and leaders of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences and the Central Asian Department of the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences.

N.N. Slyunkov was accompanied on his tour of the republic by R.N. Nishanov; G.Kh. Kadyrov, chairman of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers; M.M. Mirkasymov, first secretary of Tashkent party obkom; and A.S. Ikramov, first secretary of Samarkand party obkom.

Uzbek Officials View Organized Crime Situation

PM0303101189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Dispatch by O. Gaydanov, deputy prosecutor of the Uzbek SSR and candidate of juridical sciences, and E. Didorenko, Uzbek SSR first deputy minister of internal affairs and candidate of juridical sciences, under the rubric "We Discuss Draft Fundamental Principles of Criminal Legislation": "As Though There Were No Mafia in Our Country"]

[Text] Tashkent—You form the impression that the authors of the Fundamental Principles have ignored the fact that the organized crime developing in our country has already moved into the category of a dangerous social phenomenon, recognized by all, and requiring that an immediate impact be exerted on it by the system of state and above all through legal forms of response.

The failure to take constructive measures, precisely when the foundations of the new legal thinking are being laid and the mechanism of the rule-of-law state is being created, could lead to irreversible social consequences.

Embezzlements of many millions, and instances of bribery in Uzbekistan, have been perpetrated by the mafioso clans of official criminals. Their conduct has created distorted ideas of ethics and morality among people, and ideas of permissiveness and impunity. Newly organized criminal groups and bandit formations have begun to mushroom on this social soil.

This nutrient medium was created for various dealers, "workmen" ["tsekhoviki"], and criminal elements who have essentially become professional criminals. Local millionaires have appeared. According to preliminary figures there are over 160 of them, over 500 "dealer-workmen," and many currency smugglers and large-scale speculators. All this has given rise to racketeering and the dissemination of inquisitorial forms and methods of acquiring material assets, through torture, beatings, and even murder.

As a result, a sufficiently well-tuned hierarchy of organized crime has been formed whose development is taking place, so to speak, according to the law of geometric progression, with ramifications sometimes throughout the country. In the past 3 years, in Uzbekistan alone, and in addition to mafioso official criminals, 20 bandit formations have been rendered harmless, and the activity of over 700 organized criminal groups, which had committed about 7,000 various crimes, has been halted.

Under the conditions of the changes taking place in the country the problem of the struggle against organized "syndicated" crime is coming to the fore. In our view, the reserves of the really significant neutralizer of the braking system of the corrupt antirestructuring forces, which are essentially sabotaging the decisions of the party and government, have been invested in this struggle: In defending their opportunities to extract selfish advantage, they are striving by every means to preserve the viability of the administrative-edict methods of managing the national economy.

Practice shows that we cannot put an end to the mafia at one stroke. A reliable legal basis is required which, before it is too late, must be included in the new Fundamental Principles of criminal legislation.

Above all it is necessary to give a **clear definition of organized crime** as a special social category of the lawless. That is why it is essential to enshrine in legislation concepts like "criminal organization" and "organized criminal group."

Organized crime, in our opinion, is a sociomoral deformation of the conduct of individual strata of society, manifested in persistent and widely ramified association, to derive material or any other personal advantage by engaging systematically in covert criminal business.

A criminal organization should be seen as a community of people of different social status united by the idea of criminal business, and carrying it out consistently within a hierarchical system of illegal activity.

It would be correct to categorize as **an organized criminal group** any structural echelon of an illegal community engaged in criminal business, or an association of people not belonging to the pyramid of organized crime who regularly derive personal material advantage by committing specific crimes.

In this connection the Fundamental Principles must provide for the criminal and material responsibility of officials who impede investigation and justice and allow illegal actions against participants in the criminal procedure. It is also essential to provide for the release from criminal responsibility of people who, although they are participants in a criminal organization or group, have voluntarily stated this, if their actions have led to no substantial harm or grave consequences. For instance, a rule now operates whereby people who have given bribes are released from criminal responsibility if they have stated this voluntarily.

We believe that the inclusion of these proposals in the Fundamental Principles will eliminate a number of problems which are considerably complicating the effective struggle both against crime in general and against its most dangerous manifestation—the mafia.

* Turmen Aspects of Interethnic Relations Noted

WA18000337 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 9 Feb 89 p 2

[Interview with Iolotanskiy Raykom First Secretary A. Mukhammedova by staff correspondent G. Kolodin : "Testing for Stability"]

[Text] **The question of the development of interethnic relations is today, I think, one of the most acute. Just a year ago the situation seemed favorable, and it seemed as if harmony was completely assured in this area. And suddenly there were the incidents in Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan and Armenia—and our placidity, behind which the true problems lurked, was no more.**

Restructuring has helped us see the true picture. And knowledge of reality will help us find the correct paths for solving the accumulated problems. Our correspondent G. Kolodin speaks about this with Turkmen CP Iolotanskiy Raykom First Secretary A. Mukhammedova.

[Kolodin] Annagul Mukhammedovna, is it fair to say that the problem sprang up "suddenly?" Perhaps it has been simmering for a long time?

[Mukhammedova] Sometimes we are slow to comprehend and solve the problems which life places before us. I believe that we have had a severe but extremely useful lesson. It has become clear that the epoch of show and self-deceiving sloganeering, which we used to call interethnic education, is over. It has also become a thing of the past—and I hope forever—to stubbornly ignore the traditions and national peculiarities of every nation, even the smallest. The time has come to call a spade a spade and to look, at last, with open eyes and with objective reality at the problems of our multinational situation.

Of course the problem has been simmering for a long time; it did not spring up all at once. We announced the "merging" of nations too soon. In our rayon, for example, there live Turkmenians and Russians, Beluds and Ukrainians, Azerbaijanis and Armenians, Jews and Germans—representatives of 34 nationalities and peoples. The overwhelming majority of the representatives of non-indigenous nationalities have mastered the Turkmen language, and respect our traditions and customs. But at the same time it is sufficient to pay a visit to our holiday celebrations to see the true kaleidoscope of different cultures, temperaments, and specific manifestations of the soul of each nation.

However, it is not simply in holidays that the tapestry of our lives is woven. Behind them stands the workaday life with all of its vital concerns. And I would be acting against my own conscience if I were to say that there are no problems in our rayon with regard to developing interethnic relations.

After all, what was it like not all that long ago? Social justice was violated right and left, and the norms of socialist morality were trampled. A number of leading officials began to show signs of national exclusiveness, aloofness, and a scornful attitude toward the needs and interests of certain population groups of non-indigenous nationality.

[Kolodin] Could you not cite some specific examples?

[Mukhammedova] Of course I can. On the kolkhozes named for Kalinin and Zhdanov, which are populated mainly by Beluds, the economy is extremely poor. Production costs here are higher than the average rayon level by a factor of 1.5. The farms are unable to get out from under their debts; they make poor use of material and human resources, and the material base is poorly developed. And the kolkhoz members are completely justified in their complaints today that they have been done out of their share of the basic necessities—kindergartens, clubs, baths, and domestic service buildings.

How can the situation be corrected? The party raykom is devoting considerable effort to raise up the economy of these farms and to improve the working and living conditions of the kolkhoz members. But, unfortunately, we see practically no reciprocal movement or initiatives from the localities at all. For example, at the beginning of the five-year plan the rayon authorities adopted a resolution to allocate additional assets to Zhdanov Kolkhoz in order to build housing and projects for cultural-domestic purposes; however, the board let the money be used for other purposes. For example, on one sector of the kolkhoz there are to this day no children's pre-school institutions, nor is there a club, and the funds allocated

for those purposes were used to acquire agricultural equipment. And at the same time malicious tongues keep wagging about strangling the national well-being.

[Kolodin] And so it seems that not everyone understands that in improving the lives of the representatives of national minorities, a lot depends on them themselves?

[Mukhammedova] A kind of vicious circle is formed! The kolkhozniks are dissatisfied with their standard of living, and at the same time reduce to practically nothing the efforts of the raykom and the rayispolkom aimed at helping them. What is the problem here? Some people hasten to the conclusion that the Beluds themselves are to blame for the fact that they maintain a patriarchal way of life and are not receptive to innovations. I am fundamentally opposed to such assertions, and meetings with the people reinforce my convictions. Here we see the results of not only many years of inattention by party administrators to the needs and aspirations of the Belud portion of the populace, but also the circumstance that for a long time the national composition of the population was not considered when selecting and posting cadres. Those chosen as leaders among the minority groups were not selected for their business acumen and organizational abilities but for their suitability to the leadership and their obedience. This was reflected in particular in the level of leadership of the Zhdanov and Kalinin kolkhozes. It is of course convenient to write off one's own failures to the peculiarities of a national character. But that is a distortion of the truth.

Today, while correcting the situation, we are devoting special attention to a well-considered cadre policy, and are recruiting people of various nationalities for leadership positions. Approach number one is to place primary emphasis on the ability to work with people, on organizational talents, and o high moral qualities. It is not by accident that in recent years the number of representatives of non-indigenous nationalities among the party raykom leadership is increasing.

[Kolodin] Annagul Mukhammedovna, at one time the Turkemn Communist Party Central Committee adopted a number of documents aimed at raising the standards of interethnic relations and at the solution of social questions. One recalls that the problem of receiving people of non-indigenous nationality into party membership was especially acute. What has changed since that time?

[Mukhammedova] Not long ago I congratulated with exceptional warmth Anipa Nazarov, a kolkhoz member from the Pobeda Kolkhoz, upon her acceptance as a candidate party member. The event is in itself remarkable: She became the first female Belud to submit an application for joining the ranks of the Communists.

The latter fact is, I would like to believe, directly associated with the fact that the rayon party organization today has made continuous work with women one of its priority directions. And we are not denying our attention to the female representatives of one single national minority. After all, many of their concerns and problems are similar: how to give their children a start in life—and in most families they have no fewer than five or six—and at the same time work and take part in social life.

The employment problem is acute in our region; not only mothers, but also men have a hard time finding work. And nevertheless we are trying to assist every woman who so desires to make her contribution, as best she can, to the common cause. We make wide use of home labor, and are introducing rentals and family contracts. We are building a linen factory, and when it begins to operate we anticipate that the problem of female unemployment will completely disappear.

It is not empty phrases that define the face of the party committee today, but deeds and results. Currently we are holding frequent open letter days and "round table" meetings. And, you see, once representatives of the Belud portion of the population brought serious complaints: The rayon authorities, they said, are strangling the Beluds, and are not providing grants for building their own homes. Here we must cite specific figures: for the year, 405 people in the rayon had received grants. And more than half of them were representatives of the Belud portion of the populace, which comprises less than 15 percent of the total number of people who dwell on the territory of Iolotanskiy Rayon.

I am firmly convinced that one of the most important aspects of improving interethnic relations consists in increasing attention to the problems of the cultural heritage of each nation and nationality, and any small ethnic group. I want to state frankly that it is only now, in the process of democratization and glasnost, that we have begun to clearly see these problems, to which we previously attributed almost no significance—problems connected with language and cultural peculiarities. And suddenly it became clear that the party officials were not prepared for such a turn of events. We must literally restructure ourselves on the run, and convince ourselves that, for example, holding a folklore holiday is no less an important measure than, shall we say, organizing political instruction. In the past we had ignored folk celebrations, and after all they are an excellent occasion for getting to know one another better. We must invigorate the work of popular theaters (they exalt our land), as well as agitation teams; and we must restore the folk customs and national culture.

[Kolodin] A culture of communication among the nationalities must be inculcated at an early age. Is the rural elementary school ready for this, in your view?

[Mukhammedova] This is, I think, the sorest spot. The neglect of the stagnation years has led to the situation whereby great difficulties have arisen in Russian language training. A considerable contingent, or to put it more exactly, 62 percent of the graduates, have a poor grasp of the language of interethnic communication:

such is the quality of its instruction in Turkmen schools. What, then, can one say about the children of the Beluds, the Farsis and the Kazakhs? A tot who speaks his native language at home is forced to speak with the teacher at school, read and write in Turkmen. And the child is then forced to learn Russian as a second, non-native language. And on top of this, add the still mandatory program of foreign language instruction. One can imagine what an impregnable fortress an institute or a technical school becomes for them. Hence the problem of national cadres. One would think that the republic-level authorities could render more assistance to such multi-national rayons as ours.

I, a native Turkmen woman, a daughter of my nation, presently the leader of the Communists in the rayon, am convinced: Disconnected nations and disconnected collectives are not capable of high achievements. And therefore I see the task of the party organization as delving deeply into the essence of the processes taking place in the multinational collectives; skillfully taking charge of them; and strengthening the friendship and mutual respect of all the 34 nations and nationalities which populate our rayon.

Estonian Intermovement Opens Congress in Tallinn

LD0403214189 Moscow TASS in English 2104 GMT 4 Mar 89

[Text] Tallinn March 4 TASS—The first congress of the International Movement (intermovement) of Estonia's working people opened in the capital of this Soviet Baltic republic on Saturday.

Some 700 delegates of one of Estonia's largest sociopolitical movements will discuss their organization's draft rules and programme and elect a coordination council to guide the movement's activities.

The majority of the movement, which appeared a little more than six months ago, are non-Estonians, who account for approximately 40 per cent of the republic's population.

Some newspapers view the establishment of the Intermovement as a response measure to the activities of the Popular Front which unites mostly Estonians.

The Intermovement sets the goal of defending the rights and interests on Estonia's residents regardless of their ethnic origin.

Dissatisfaction With Leaders Noted

LD0503180489 Hamburg DPA in German 1602 GMT 5 Mar 89

[Excerpts] Moscow (DPA)—The "Intermovement," an organization supported in the main by Russians living in Estonia, today expressed in Tallinn in several resolutions its dissatisfaction with the leadership in this Soviet republic. The division of Estonia has even been called for should the situation continue to deteriorate, an Estonian journalist told DPA this evening.

In addition, the "Intermovement" called for convening an extraordinary Estonian party conference to which the Soviet head of state and party leader Mikhail Gorbachev is to be invited. Specifically, "Intermovement" demands that should the national tensions and general situation in the republic continue to deteriorate, Estonia's northeast, whose majority population is Russian, be separated from the republic and added as an autonomous region to the Leningrad district, and thus the Russian Republic. Part of Tallinn should be in charge of this district as the administrative centre, the same source said.

Furthermore, the resolutions spoke out against a number of points in the Estonian constitution, since they disadvantage the non-Estonian section of the population. Thus "Intermovement" asked that apart from Estonian, Russian be proclaimed an official language in Estonia. [passage omitted]

"Intermovement" today elected a 60-strong coordination committee. A total of 742 delegates from eight Estonian cities came to Tallinn to attend the congress.

Intermovement Congress Concludes

LD0603111589 Moscow TASS in English 1038 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Tallinn March 6 TASS—The international movement of working people in Estonia ended its first congress here late on Sunday [5th March] night after endorsing a charter and programme for ensuring the rights and interests of the inhabitants of this Soviet Baltic Republic, regardless of their nationality.

The Congress also passed a resolution demanding that the law declaring Estonian as the state language in the Repbulic be suspended.

Held in the Estonian captial of Tallinn, it was attended by some 750 delegates representing over 100 worker collectives.

Unlike the Popular Front, the international movement, which is often called the intermovement, comprises predominantly members of non-Estonian nationalities, which account for about 40 percent of the Republic's population.

Speakers at the congress criticised a number of recent Estonian laws which, they allege, infringe upon the rights of non-Estonians.

The delgates also said that the drafting of an Estonian citizenship law and on a new Estonian Constitution should be put off until after the forthcoming Soviet Communist Party Central Committee Plenum on Interethnic Relations.

Estonian Plan for Financial Autonomy Submitted
LD0303232889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 3 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Estonian economists have finished work on a concept of regional financial autonomy on a republic-wide scale.

[Correspondent H. Lenk, indentified by caption] Not only scientists, but literally every labor collective have been involved in this work for 2 and ½ years. Now it is ready. The country's first concept of regional financial autonomy is handed over to the Estonian government.

[Begin recording] [I.H. Toome, chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers, identified by caption] It is a large amount of work. There is primarily the concept of the Estonian SSR's financial autonomy—the draft concept—plus about 12 volumes of various draft laws.

[Lenk] Why has Estonia decided on such a radical step?

[M.H. Titma, secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, identified by caption] The all-union market and economy is huge, and, if they do not have local structures—that is to say, if we, say, in Sverdlovsk Oblast or in Sverdlovsk or in Estonia are not masters of our economic activities and everything is directed centrally from Moscow—then unavoidably we feel locally that everything is disconnected, and that the local society, market, consumption and real production are, as it were, being torn apart. It is important for the country to divide up this enormous machine into relatively autonomous integral economic units. The republic is one such part of this. [end recording]

Estonian Picketing of Soviet Army Criticized
PM0303163689 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 3 Mar 89 p 1

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent Aleksandr Chudakov article under the rubric "This Space Every Day": "So the Military Greatcoat Does Not Keep You Warm?"]

[Text] I will make so bold as to add one more to all Riga's other positions and titles. This city can justifiably be called the military capital of the Baltic region. Here, in a dark, severe building in the very center of the city, the headquarters of the Red Banner Baltic Military District are located.

During the unseasonably mild days at the beginning of February, every time the officers of the district staff reported for duty they received a charge of emotions that cannot be called positive. True, nobody was attacking them or trying to prevent them from entering the headquarters. It was simply that every morning, with the strict punctuality of sentries, people formed up outside the headquarters building. Not many of them, no more than 20 or 30. Of various ages. Men, women, some who were little more than children.

The people carried posters. These, like the people, were diverse. Probably only one thing united them: Malice and scorn toward the Armed Forces. "Occupiers, out of Latvia!" these groups demanded, claiming, for some unknown reason, the right to speak in Latvia's name. For anyone who is perplexed, let me explain: The "occupying troops" are our, Soviet, troops.

To the honor of the Baltic Military District Command, let me say that it took up the challenge worthily. They did not try to bundle the picketers into militia buses or drive them away. You want to stand there—so stand there. The most peaceful weapon of all was chosen—the poster. One morning a long exhibition stand appeared outside the district headquarters building, answering all the questions calmly and in detail. What, how, when, wherefore, why. And the stand was called: "The Truth About the Soviet Army." Simple and restrained.

It is well known that the Red Army came to Latvia in 1940, with the consent of the bourgeois government of Latvia. The assertion that "the entire Latvian people opposed the affiliation of Latvia to the USSR and the entry of Red Army troops into the republic" is a lie. The people of Riga saw on the stand photographs depicting rallies of many thousands of working people carrying banners welcoming the Red Army and Latvian-Soviet friendship. "Photographs do not lie," as the saying goes. It is undoubtedly also true that part of the population had a negative attitude to Latvia's entry into the USSR. The range of political feeling in the republic was very varied, and could not be divided into black and white. So what is the point of falsifying history now and trying to reduce it to universal and unanimous approval or disapproval?...

Salaspils became the tragically famous symbol of the black deeds of the real occupiers of Latvia. I do not think there is any need to remind you what fate lay in store for the peoples of the Baltic region, including the Latvians, according to Hitler's "Ost" plan. But the picketers should, perhaps, be reminded of how many Soviet guys, including Latvians, fell in the sacred battle to prevent that savage plan from becoming a reality in Latvia. One hundred and fifty thousand!

But let us return to the present day. Now, if the Soviet Army "occupied Latvia," there should doubtless also be instances of corresponding behavior by the "occupying forces."

You will not find them in any local newspaper, even the LPF [Latvian People's Front] bulletin ATMODA ("Awakening"), which, try as you may, you can hardly suspect of love and respect for the Soviet Armed Forces. True, the bulletin did publish in one issue a page under the rubric: "23 February—Soviet Army and Navy Day."

Here there is a letter from an ATMODA reader from near Riga, anathematizing the interventionists. Breathless with indignation, she makes public cases of Soviet soldiers from the nearby garrison picking fruit secretly from her private apple tree.... The reader is generous with her epithets: "hooligans," "gluttons."

And how are we to understand this, citizen picketers and other zealots for democracy: When a young soldier of Russian nationality was on his first leave in Riga, a store refused to sell him a pack of cigarettes. Did he insult the saleswoman, perhaps, or kick open the door of the store? Let me explain at once: He is an intelligent, modest boy; he graduated from school last year with a gold medal. His "occupying" rudeness consisted in the fact that he was unable to address the saleswoman in Latvian. Well, Latvian is not taught in his native Astrakhan—nor are Tajik or Moldavian, incidentally!... Shaking someone else's apple tree is bad, of course, but apparently you cannot always buy things with a soldier's kopeks! One would like to think that this is not a typical case, but why not publish it on the same page of ATMODA?

All the same: Why are the Soviet troops in Latvia now? Let us think about it together, calmly.

The demands of those who advocate the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the republic's territory are supported by two main arguments: 1) "The Soviet Army is an army of occupation"; 2) "There is no need to defend us—no one is about to attack Latvia (!)." It is also proposed that a Latvian military contingent be set up, with national officer cadres. Various suggestions are made as to the numerical strength of the contingent; I have heard, for instance, that one infantry division will be quite sufficient. Tanks, artillery, and aircraft are not necessary at all (see point 2 above).

Let us suppose that this infantry division is set up. What for? Especially so that young Latvians can serve in it? Without tanks, without artillery—in short, regiments of "toy soldiers," completely at odds with the general system of the Soviet Armed Forces. To whom will these troops be subordinate? The Latvian Defense Ministry, it appears.

It is no secret that military confrontation still exists in Europe. The strategic position that Latvia holds and the Armed Forces concentrated on the republic's territory are important elements of the Soviet defensive doctrine in Europe. It is quite obvious that the Soviet Union will never give up its own security and territorial integrity....

Finally, another question: The picketers claim that the presence of a Soviet military contingent on the republic's territory has a negative effect on the well-being and general living standard of the indigenous population. To put it more simply, it is the same old refrain: They only take, they give nothing to the republic. Well, let us examine this too, using the dry language of figures.

In the first 3 years of the current 5-year plan alone, dozens of apartment blocks have been built in Latvia by the hands of soldiers, with a total area of 164,500 square meters, including 94,800 square meters of housing in Riga itself. Servicemen build civil purification facilities, sewerage systems, wells. It was with their participation that the modern department stores "Tallinn" and "Okean" and the "Sportivnaya" Hotel were built to embellish Riga, as well as dozens of schools, creches, and kindergartens.

Army trucks and military subunits—this assistance from the district to the kolkhozes and sovkhozes of the republic has long been traditional during harvesting and sowing campaigns.

And how many times Soviet servicemen have risked their lives to save women and children from fires, how many times combat helicopters have set off in the direction of the sea in response to the alarm signal, to save Latvian fishermen who are in trouble!

Can you really forget or deliberately hush up these things, poisoning people's minds with stories about the "occupying forces"?

Latvian Independence Within Federation Urged

PM0303094989 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 19 Feb 89 p 1

[Interview with Ilya Zalmanovich Gerchikov, general director of the "Dzintars" production association, by V. Minayev: "Toward the Elections: Profitable Spending"; date and place of interview not given; first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Excerpts] Ilya Zalmanovich Gerchikov, general director of the "Dzintars" production association, is registered as one of the candidates for USSR People's Deputy from No 289 Leninskiy national-territorial electoral okrug. [passage omitted]

What is I. Gerchikov's program? The conversation with the candidate began with a reply to this question.

[Gerchikov] In brief, the essence of my program is the following: The republic must be sole mistress on its own territory, and must have its own status. I am convinced that only the region's political and economic independence—within the framework of the federation, of course—will help a speedier resolution of the problems which have accumulated in the stagnant years. We have the right to choose for ourselves the best means of economic management, and we have the right to promulgate laws taking into account the traditions, culture, and national peculiarities of the peoples living in a certain territory. We have the right to establish international ties independently.

[Minayev] But even now the republic promulgates laws and adopts resolutions, and the local soviets are invested with many rights....

[Gerchikov] I would like to point out that the rights both of the republic and of local soviets are frequently only for show, and real power either does not exist at all, or is limited by a great number of regulations. In fact, we are governed not by the soviet but by the apparatus, which as a rule makes decisions in secret and takes no responsibility for the political and social consequences of their implementation (or, conversely, their failure)—not even moral responsibility, much less material.

Incidentally, all this is occurring, unfortunately, on a nationwide scale. We all remember, for example, the resolution on the struggle against alcoholism, adopted by the highest authorities. Although correct in principle, it has nonetheless done more harm than good, as time has shown: The country's budget was billions of rubles short, the wave of speculation in vodka increased, home distillers appeared in the city, coupons had to be introduced for sugar.... All society is paying for this, and there needs to be personal responsibility for this.

We can only implement the idea of the rule-of-law state through the real sovereignty of the soviets. This idea, put forward at the the 19th all-union party conference, is particularly close to my heart, and as a deputy, if I am elected, of course, I shall defend it with all my might. After all, who, if not a deputy, can and must know people's interests and sentiments and, consequently, struggle for their implementation?

[Minayev] How do you specifically see real sovereign power for the soviets, for instance, at republic and rayon level?

[Gerchikov] I see it primarily in the right to set taxes on the income of citizens, enterprises, kolkhozes, and cooperatives, that is, the right to form their budget independently. And then to set long-term normatives for the deduction of the funds in question payable to the state budget. If this procedure is spread to city, rayon, and village soviets, then the chain of real power will be built both vertically and horizontally, but in each instance the territory will have one master—the soviet.

It is precisely the soviet which must set the norms for ecological cleanliness within the territory's jurisdiction. All-union bodies by no means always take account of the characteristics of a region—for example, Yurmala. [passage omitted]

[Minayev] I would like to know your view on the distribution of output produced. Of course, you know that there is a toothpaste shortage in the republic....

[Gerchikov] I was also asked this question at the okrug election meeting. This is the paradox: There are many goods on the shelves, but they are of poor quality; people curse those who produce them, and rightly so. But when output, as they say, sells out as ours does, and the stores are empty—then they start criticizing again, and ask why we produce so little. I say frankly that we produce as much at a given moment as we can: It is all a question of incorrect distribution, in my view.

What do I propose? First and foremost, the region must be fully supplied, and the remainder must be redistributed outside the region through the republic's Gosplan. Why through Gosplan in a centralized fashion? In order to ensure barter which is profitable for the whole republic, for example, for raw materials and equipment. It is true, moreover, that the rights of enterprises must not be infringed in any way—otherwise the stimuli for producing more and better-quality output will immediately stop working.

Moreover, I think that the export of goods in short supply should be limited. How? By selling them directly at enterprises, kolkhozes, establishments and so on. The introduction of coupons, checks, and visitors' tokens [vizitok] is unethical.

[Minayev] A few days ago the republic council of ministers and the Latvian republican trade union council adopted a resolution to limit the unwarranted artificial increase of the population. How do you react to this problem?

[Gerchikov] I am against the unwarranted artificial growth of the population—I don't think there can be two opinions here. But in stopping and limiting migration, it is important to correct production plans so that the reduction in the number of workers does not affect people's wages; otherwise the consequences could be very serious.

We at "Dzintars" are, so to speak, resolving this problem gradually and comprehensively. As a result the admission of additional workers was halted altogether as of 3 October 1988, without causing the enterprise any pain. [passage omitted]

Riga Academics' 'Resolution' Calls for Voss Ouster
LD0303122189 Riga in Latvian to Europe 2130 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Resolution unanimously adopted at 21 February conference of all faculties of the Riga Polytechnical Institute; read by Uldis Augstkalns, member of the institute's Coordination Council Presidium of the Peoples Front of Latvia—recorded]

[Text] The delegates' conference of the collective students, lecturers, and workers of the Riga Polytechnical Institute believes that USSR Supreme Soviet Deputy August Voss is connected in the closest manner with the period of stagnation in Latvia and carries a great share of responsibility for the present economic, ecololgical, and demographical crises in the republic.

In our opinion the activity of Deputy August Voss is to be assessed as anitconstitutional because it transgresses the following articles of the Latvian SSR Constitution:

—On the development of democracy, expansion of openness, and continous observance of public opinion, Article 9;
—On the protection and rational utilization of the environment's natural resources, Article 18;
—On the freedom of artistic creativity, Article 45; and
—On a deputy's accountability to his electors and collectives who have nominated him as a candidate deputy, Article 96.

Therefore, we believe that the activity of USSR Supreme Soviet Deputy August Voss is contradictory to the interests of the Latvian people, and we demand his recall.

Lithuanian Central Committee 'Out of Control'

LD0303123189 Klaipeda Maritime Press Service in Russian 1000 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Excerpts] A resolution adopted at the 19th Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum on the results of restructuring in the republic has been published.

It was pointed out that the republican Central Committee let the situation in the republic slip out of control, which led to wild outbursts of nationalism, anti-Sovietism, and anti-Socialism on the part of the leadership of the "Sajudis", the "Yedinstvo," the "Lithuanian Liberation League," and the Lithuanian Democratic Party.

Much has been done to slander the achievements of socialism, the Communist Party, and their leaders in Lithuania. A bourgois state system in general and the way of life when this system existed in Lithuania were praised.

The plenum pointed out that success of Lithuania lies only on the roads to socialism and within the Soviet Union. [passage omitted]

Most people forget the words 'Socialism' and 'Soviet' and are calling for a free Lithuania out of the USSR which is unrealistic and harmful. This is done even in the press.

The father of Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the "Sajudis" Seimas council, together with others in 1941 thanked Hitler in writing for saving culture in Europe and ensured him that support would be given in the fight against Communism. Similar words are heard today. Untruthful newspapers must be banned and activists of Genzelis's [active Sajudis member] type should be expelled from the party, said Sakalauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers. [passage omitted]

Some members of the "Sajudis" demand seccession from the USSR, which in practice would be a catastrophe, especially in the sphere of economy. [passage omitted]

Rallies during working time must be banned and donations of state money to the "Sajudis" must be cut off. [passage omitted]

'Sajudis' Council Prompts Candidate's Withdrawal

LD0503162189 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Yesterday we informed you about the decision to withdraw [a name from the election registration lists] which was made by a member of the Seimas Council of the Lithuanian reform movement Sajudis, Arvyadas Juozaitis, although his election center has not registered his withdrawal decision so far. [His rival was A. Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee]

Today yet another member of the Seimas Council also declared his decision not to seek a place in the Soviet parliament. He was registered at the Taurage Constituency. His rival was Vladimiras Beriozovas, second secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee. [passage omitted]

These withdrawals were prompted by the Sajudis Council, whose statement to this effect reads that the situation after the recent Communist Party plenum's decisions have been pressing the Sajudis movement to support those forces within the party who are restructuring, the more so, as the party reactionaries have increased their attacks.

Lithuanian 'Sajudis' Secretary Reviews Elections

LD0403132689 Stockholm Domestic Service in Finnish 1130 GMT 4 Mar 89

[Text] Over to Lithuania. The Lithuanian people will not allow themselves either to be intimidated or provoked, says Vergilius Cepaitis, who is secretary of the Lithuanian People's Front, Sajudis. And he says this in reply to the warnings issued by the Lithuanian party chief recently. Vergilius Cepaitis:

[Begin Cepaitis recording in vernacular, fading into Swedish translation] During the past 8 to 9 months many attempts have been made to provoke the Lithuanian people, but none of these attempts have succeeded. The Lithuanians have by tradition never done anything hastily. At the present time, the Lithuanian people stand united. The only conflict which exists here now is between the people and the rulers. [end recording]

Vergilius Cepaitis received me in this room at the Sajudis headquarters—which was an art gallery until a few months ago—in Gediminas Square in the middle of the old town of Vilnius. Now the church is the center of the lively Catholicism in Lithuania again, thanks largely to the work of Sajudis.

Starting from nowhere, the Sajudis movement has become a significant power factor in Lithuania. For the elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet later this month, the movement has nominated candidates in all election districts, and there are good chances of winning many of the over 40 seats to which Lithuania is entitled in the Soviet parliament.

[Begin Cepaitis recording in vernacular, fading into Swedish translation] The goal is that as many as possible of our candidates should be elected and able to take up their seats in Moscow. It is important that the Lithuanian independence ideas are represented as strongly as possible in Moscow. But in order that this should be so, it is important that the election take place in a democratic way. [end recording]

The Sajudis movement earlier demanded that it should be present to supervise the election process in order to avoid fraud.

Whatever happens in the election, Sajudis will continue in future as well to play a leading role in Lithuania. And when the time comes—in the fall at the earliest—for elections to the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, it may be a question of an entirely new balance of power in the southernmost of the three Baltic republics.

'Unsanctioned' Kishinev Rally Demonstrators Fined

PM0303162989 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 24 Feb 89 p 3

[ATEM report under the rubric "From the Courtroom": "Administrative Proceedings Instituted"]

[Text] A new attempt to hold an unsanctioned rally was made by the monument to Stephen the Great in Kishinev 19 February 1989. By their behavior a group of irresponsible citizens created a disturbance in the region of Victory Square and obstructed the working of municipal transport. Employees of the law enforcement organs repeatedly used megaphones to ask the participants in the unsanctioned rally not to violate public order, but without success. Moreover, there appeared among the gathering persons who began shouting inflammatory and insulting slogans and who urged people to disobey the authorities' just demands.

Proceeding from the premise that the development of events might assume an unpredictable nature, militia officers arrested a number of active participants in the unsanctioned rally. They were taken to the duty section of Frunzenskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department. There the identities of those arrested were established, and their illegal actions were documented.

All these materials were forwarded to the Frunzenskiy Rayon People's Court. They were recently heard during court sessions. After making a comprehensive and objective examination of the facts set forth in the materials on these cases, the people's court passed a resolution imposing the following administrative penalties on these citizens: K.L. Stratulat, fitter at the "Zorile" Factory, was fined R300; fines of R100 each were imposed on I.G. Dandesh, inspector for the "Butoyash" Cooperative; V.M. Aleksey, turner at the "Moldavgidromash" Science-and-Production Association; A.G. Bogasiyeru, electrician for the extradepartmental protection department under the Frunzenskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department; V.I. Kadushin, carpenter for the "Mezon" Association's No 19 Repair and Construction Administration; V.V. Malay, printing combine worker; and V.I. Yemelyan, adjuster at the "Moldavgidromash" Science-and-Production Association. V.F. Bokancha, procurement worker for Dumbraveny's "Koopzagotprom," was fined R90, and S.D. Skurtu, student of the physical education faculty of Kishinev's I. Creanga State Pedagogic Institute, was fined R70. A resolution was adopted with regard to V.P. Vuyko, electrician at the Kishinev No 4 Bakery, to impose an administrative penalty on him in the form of a caution.

All the decisions of the people's court are final and are not open to appeal.

Readers Criticize 19 Feb Belorussian Front Rally

PM0603085989 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 21 Feb 89 p 3

[BELTA roundup of readers' letters under the "Standpoint" rubric: "Democracy Does Not Brook Demagoguery: Opinions of Participants in Rally Held at Dinamo Stadium in Minsk 19 February"]

[Text] [Letter from V. Puchkovskiy, tool setter at the Minsk motor plant]
Last Sunday I, like many other Minsk residents, went to the rally organized by the so-called Belorussian People's Front [BPF] for restructuring organizing committee.

The rally was opened by V.I. Mikhasev, chairman of the gorispolkom, and one of the BPF's organizers, who called for an honest and constructive dialogue. The first speaker was Z. Poznyak, leader of the "Martyrology" movement, who very soon electrified the atmosphere. His categorical statements and calls for confrontation with the existing system received mixed reactions from those present.

Speakers representing the BPF—economists, teachers, and writers—took up the questions the press has been discussing for a long time now and which are no secret to anyone. The speech by L.L. Dyusov, a worker at our

plant, who stated that his father and grandfather had been shot by the collaborationist police under the white, red, and black flag provoked whistles and shouts from the grandstands. This reaction was clearly no chance one, because those present in the stadium were mainly young people, students, and representatives of the intelligentsia who had no personal experience of the horrors of war. I very much wanted the city's party and soviet workers to give the demagogues a fitting rebuff. However, this did not happen. It is a pity that there were no talented speakers at this well attended rally. After all, say what you like, there has long been a need to tell the people the truth.

Without offering concrete solutions to any economic problems or envisaging ways to improve our life, the BPF's representatives seem to have forgotten that there is still a working class numbering some 600,000 people in the city. The BPF's supporters are not going to resolve all our problems for us. The working class was, is, and will remain the revolutionary force of society. This cannot be ignored.

I deeply respect our national culture and language. Yes, we need joint efforts to ensure that the Belorussian language is heard everywhere because it is our native tongue. But let us not reduce everything to a matter of the language alone. Let us highlight the economic, social, every-day, and moral problems. After all, you will agree that this is the prime matter. Let us promote restructuring by deeds, not by demagogic arguments.

[Letter from I. Fedorov, former commissar of the "Shturmovaya" partisan brigade]
The political atmosphere in the city lately has become heated, and I thought the rally organized at the Dinamo stadium by the "informal organizations" would take at least some steps to improve the atmosphere. But unfortunately, nothing like that happened. All the speeches by the representatives of the informal associations and the organizing committees of the BPF were clearly extremist in character. There wasn't a hint of constructiveness.

You got the impression that the dominant feelings among the leaders of these organizations were personal ambition and resentment at their unsuccessful campaign in the pre-election okrug meetings. That is expressed frankly in their proposed resolution to deem those meetings invalid. We can go as far as we like. But there is a law. It has not been broken. So why should we change it to suit those who were not elected? What will the next demand be? How does all this tally with the "informals'" demands on democracy? Or must it be the kind of democracy which ensures that their wishes prevail on all occasions?! I do not believe that such a stance by the leaders of this movement will win them extra supporters, at least not sensible ones.

[Letter from A. Popruzhenko, a milling machine operator at the "Integral" production association]

Last Sunday, 19 February, I took part in a rally of our city's residents in support of restructuring at the Dinamo stadium. Through your newspaper I would like to express my opinion on the event.

First, is there any need for such mass events? I think there is. But their organization must give each participant an opportunity to express his point of view even if it displeases some people. What did we see and hear at that rally? After the very first speech a "battle" for the microphone began. Comments contrary to the organizers' prearranged program met with whistling and shouting. You only had to announce the speaker's official title for many of those at the rally to judge him without hearing a single word. With debating like that such rallies could simply turn into a brawl.

Second, the representatives of the organizing committee of "Adradzhenne," "Talaki," and other informal organizations blamed Soviet and party organs and the command and administrative system for all sorts of sins. But there were very few constructive proposals expressed. As we know, it is always easier to criticize than to act.

Thus I think that the leaders of those organizations should demonstrate their commitment to restructuring not by mere words and appeals but by concrete deeds. Like leasing a loss-making enterprise or organizing a team contract at a laggard kolkhoz. But at the moment it is just as M.S. Gorbachev said in his meeting with representatives of the working class: "We are just making a fuss, brothers, just making a fuss." Deeds—they are the engine of restructuring.

[Letter from Vyacheslav Dashkevich, member of the USSR Writers' Union]

What worries me most of all today? Not, of course, the mere fact that a rally has been held. I am worried by its potential consequences, because it is clear to see that some people dream of a civil war atmosphere.

"Will the Soviet Union survive until 1984"—that was the title of a book by A. Amalrik, who fled to the West. Similar ideas, disguised to varying degrees, are unfortunately beginning to be cultivated here, too. Only the date has been changed....

There is another far-reaching scheme. Its point is this: Supposing the country's leaders lose their nerve and decide to "clamp down." Then people will be able to scream that the Soviets are reverting to Stalinism and that restructuring has misfired. Then there will be a pretext to fuel the arms race, go back to talking from a position of strength, and so on.

The rally showed that our memory of history is not entirely in order. We have a poor knowledge of our own history. Particularly the period when the machinery of

repression was created which destroyed millions of innocent people. It is important to note that this machine was by no means blind. The flower of the nations were the first to be destroyed.

Today, too, it seems, some people are dreaming of conflict between the authorities and the intelligentsia which would squander the people's spiritual forces on nonsense—on factional squabbles and settling scores, on the heated discussion of third-rate problems, and so forth.

One is struck by the logic—or rather the lack of logic—of some speakers. Take the writer Semen Bukchin, for example—he accused me of nothing more or less than—anti-Semitism. I reread my rally speech carefully and didn't find even a hint of insult to the Jewish nation. I believe that this was the conclusion of everyone who heard me and who can hear. But Bukchin—did he really see anti-Semitism in the fact that I cited the names of Yagoda, Berman, and others among the butchers?

Each people has its heroes and villains. I was mentioning the latter. When talking about victims people for some reason forget to talk about the butchers. They forget to mention them by name. Yet the historical sources for such work are available—you only need to look....

The people must know the truth. And they will. Nothing can overshadow the truth!

[Letter from Z. Voynich, worker at a worsted combine] At the rally on 19 February 1989 I was very indignant at the behavior of certain representatives of the so-called informal associations, particularly with regard to the speech by a Great Patriotic War veteran and partisan. Is it really democracy that they are campaigning for? Are some people really allowed to ridicule those who protected us with their blood and defended our independence? When all is said and done, what about simple respect for an old man?

How can you discuss the solution of economic, environmental, political, and other problems with people who are uneducated and spiritually impoverished. My opinion is that if such people gain power we won't be able to have confidence in our future.

I am not going to hide the fact that some of what the informal organizations' representatives said in their speeches seemed correct to me. But since they are such patriots—and we have a stack of work to do in our country—let them go to the countryside, take a patch of land, and show what they can do. Let them work so that people trust them. Then perhaps people will follow them. It seems to me that the informal organizations' representatives at the stadium are not people of the soil or from the shop floor—they do not inspire confidence although it is perfectly clear from their conduct alone that they are keen for power.

My whole life has been motivated by a sense of hunger, if you will pardon me for saying so. We are not hungry now, of course, we have enough to live on. But this sense acquired in childhood is like a reminder of that difficult path which I took along with my country. I believe that before giving advice on how to live and what to do, each honest person should conscientiously do a certain amount of work himself and benefit society. He should grow grain or produce something that goes with bread. No matter how many rallies we held about that we will never have had enough.

I am convinced that to lead society it is necessary to understand each member of it and, most important, to respect man—be he a war veteran, a kolkhoz member, or a worker. It seems to me that the crowd which rejected the speech of a distinguished man and jeered him off the platform is not worthy of respect either. It is hard to believe that there are those who will follow such people.

[Letter from V. Meshcheryakov, chief of the Zavodskoy Rayon Public Education Department in Minsk city]

Democracy is not total licence. That is an accepted truth. But what kind of democracy is it, to judge from Sunday's rally at the Dinamo stadium, if whistling opponents down and crude shouts at speakers are virtually the only argument in the debate on urgent questions?

Everyone is entitled to his opinion. And the ability to hear out an opposing viewpoint at any meeting is simply essential. Unfortunately, that ability was absent. We waited for a constructive discussion of problems of importance to the city and the republic. But what we saw most often was self admiration, what we heard were well known facts and tenets frequently set out in a biased way. Just take the problem of the native language. What we saw was an attempt to make it seem that there is only one man who is trying to resolve the problem of the revival of the Belorussian national culture and language while all the rest are either indifferent or are rabid opponents of this. And as a teacher I just cannot understand the reason for presenting to all those present a child speaking a few words of Belorussian. Was this not to inflame the atmosphere of the rally even more?

But it is a real fact that in many Minsk kindergartens and schools concrete steps have already been taken to revive interest in the native language and Belorussian culture and the first results have been achieved.

So who needs mere posing and fine phrases now?

Some people's speeches expressed personal resentment, ambition, but not concrete proposals on ways to improve the situation and what must be done to that end.

Chernobyl Decontamination Combine Head Interviewed
AU0303182289 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 23 Feb 89 p 5

[NOVOSTI interview "specially for ZYCIE WARSZAWY" with Mikhail Sedov, director of the combine that is carrying out decontamination work at Chernobyl, by an unnamed reporter: "What Is Happening at Chernobyl?"; date and place not given]

[Text] Moscow's PRAVDA recently carried an article entitled "Will There Be a Town Called Chernobyl?" The article leveled sharp criticism at the work of "the combine"—a production association that is carrying out decontamination and reconstruction work within a 30-kilometer radius of the Chernobyl nuclear power station. Concern was expressed about the future of Chernobyl, which is shortly to celebrate its 800th anniversary. In an interview given to NOVOSTI, Mikhail Sedov, general director of "the combine," discussed the subject.

[Question] Is it true that "the combine" is conducting highly secret work that might result in Chernobyl being razed?

[Sedov] I can tell you in all honesty that no one has been planning any secret operations with a view to destroying this old, historic town. It is true that we have pulled down 12 buildings that were built between 1869 and 1961. This was not just a whim; it was done as a result of a decision made by the government commission responsible for eradicating the effects of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power station. The commission decided that old buildings in the town, which had previously been privately owned, should be knocked down. The owners have been appropriately compensated.

Factors in deciding which buildings would be involved were the level of contamination from radioactive elements, sanitary conditions, fire safety, and so on. This is because it would take no more than a fire for radioactive contamination to be spread by the wind.

Following the 1986 accident at Chernobyl, decontamination work covered an area of 150 hectares; about 150,000 cubic meters of radioactive soil were removed and about 16 kilometers of roads and pavements in the town were covered with asphalt and concrete. The central streets of Chernobyl, many buildings housing apartments and offices, farming machinery and equipment centers, and other workplaces were decontaminated. The local house of culture was renovated and the cinema can be used. The heating network, the water and sewage system, power lines and facilities have been modernized and renovated. I would like to stress that the foundations of the local infrastructure have not only been rebuilt, but have also been significantly modernized. We are doing everything possible to keep the town alive under the difficult conditions created by high levels of radiation.

[Question] However, currently only personnel from "the combine" and several other organizations are based at Chernobyl, and they are rotated. Is there any possibility that the town's permanent inhabitants will be able to return?

[Sedov] If you mean a return in the near future, then my answer would be a definite no. However, if you mean is it going to be possible for people to return at all, then this is something that we cannot say at this stage.

Despite the decontamination work, there are places in Chernobyl where exposure to doses of radiation is 10 to 15 times higher than permissible levels. In addition, we still do not know enough about the how the decay of radioactive plutonium, cesium, strontium, and other isotopes, which takes place over a long period of time, affects people's health; the isotopes enter the human organism through the food that we eat and the air we breathe. After all, vegetables and meat produced in these areas will not be suitable for consumption for many years to come.

So what kind of return can we talk about? If people were to return, this means that they would come back with their children, they would want to look after their gardens, to grow food, and collect mushrooms. This is out of the question. There is a risk to health in the area around the Chernobyl nuclear power station. The only people that can be allowed into it are specialists who are there in an official capacity and who are able to work under these types of conditions....

[Question] However, it is no secret that many people have gone back into the 30-kilometer zone unofficially. They live in their own homes, tend their gardens, and eat homegrown produce....

[Sedov] It is true that about 1,000 people live in villages located in the zone. They are primarily older people who have returned without the permission of the authorities. They cannot conceive of the dangers posed by radiation and that is why they adopt a carefree attitude toward their own health and that of their children and grandchildren, who come to visit them on holidays and during vacations. Last summer, despite the clear ban, 60 children visited these villages at various times....

[Question] What kind of conditions are these people living under?

[Sedov] Readings taken at Opachichi (which currently has 103 inhabitants) indicate that beta particle contamination of household articles and clothing is 2-3 times higher than the permissible norms for the site of the Chernobyl nuclear power station, where people work, but only for set periods of time. I would add that drinking water taken from wells at Opachichi, Ilichi, and Kupatovoye is contaminated to an extent that exceeds all

permissible norms. Even if we were to decontaminate these places, there is a danger of areas that have already been treated being contaminated a second time.

According to specialists, it makes no sense for people to return to the 30-kilometer zone, and those who have returned of their own accord should be expelled. It has been recommended that scientific research and a limited amount of testing should be the only type of activity permitted in the area around the power station. Research findings have confirmed that it will not be possible to live in the area for a long time to come.

Yakovlev, CSSR Editor Discuss Restructuring
PM0303153289 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 8, 19 Feb 89 p 6

[Article on dialogue between Yegor Yakovlev and RUDE PRAVO chief editor Zdenek Horeni: "The Times We Live In"]

[Text] Ye.Ya.: We haven't met for nearly two years. "MN" [MOSCOW NEWS] featured our dialogue "Spring. Czechoslovakia. Gorbachev", devoted to Mikhail Gorbachev's visit, in April 1987. One could say much water has flowed under the bridge since then and carried off some of the difficulties in our way. In short, we have some common ground. But first and foremost—about the recent events in Prague linked to the 20th anniversary of Jan Palach's self-immolation: demonstrations in Wenceslaus Square and clashes of young people with public security forces. What does this situation attest to?

Z.H.: Ours is a highly differentiated society, and not only by its social structure: it reacts in different ways, for instance, to the reconstruction being carried out in Czechoslovakia. Most people see this as a new chapter in socialism's development. But there are also those who say that all of this is well and good, but let's be wary, we haven't forgotten 1968. Others believe that the leadership alone deals with perestroyka, that it is none of their business, and they prefer to wait and see what turn things will take in the Soviet Union and how they will proceed in our country. The level of these groups; social activity is very different, of course, but all of them, in the final analysis, subscribe to the positions of socialism. In this they differ from those who, riding on the back of perestroyka, seek to use it to overthrow socialism.

If we take a closer look at the events in Wenceslaus Square, we shall see that it is precisely this kind of people who were behind these meetings. They made skilful use of the discontent triggered by slow progress in social development in the past few decades and the marked decline in the economy.

Ye.Ya.: At a recent highly authoritative gathering in Moscow I listened to a speaker who asked from the rostrum: "Who is making perestroyka?" and replied, "Of course, we, party functionaries, and not the big mouths who gather for meetings." But the people he called big mouths possess the same civil rights as he does. Their activity, even if of a peculiar kind, has been born of perestroyka. This has to be reckoned with.

Z.H.: It would be wrong to regard every one of those several thousand people who turned up in the square as antisocialist elements. Some came with the slogans "Down with Socialism", whereas others were motivated by a desire to free socialism from the mistakes and shortcomings accompanying the creation of the new—they seek to vindicate social ideals.

Ye.Ya.: But what is to be done further on? The sharper the confrontation, the more meaningful the programme of consolidation. What will happen if the crowd reappears in Wenceslaus Square?

Z.H.: Everyone is equal before the law. And if a demonstration has not been permitted, the law comes into force. This has been, is and will be the case. According to Prague's rules, Wenceslaus Square is not intended for such gatherings. Just as you are reluctant to turn Red Square into a club for disputes, so we as well strive to preserve our main square.

The events in question put forward a host of problems before the most varied people. There are also some who now take advantage of this to declare: this is what your perestroyka and democratization are leading to. Anti-perestroyka elements have profited by this, beyond all doubt. And nevertheless the leadership of the party and the national front see the process of perestroyka as irreversible. We shall continue following our action programme, an inalienable part of which is broad social dialogue.

Ye.Ya.: We see all the goings-on through the prism of perestroyka. It already has a record of its own. I could perhaps name three stages in the development of social consciousness in our country. At the very beginning of perestroyka it seemed enough merely to change one's posture in one's armchair for everything to start smooth sailing. When it became clear that it would not be possible to overcome the past all at once, we clamped down on the bureaucrat, whom we saw as the main adversary of the new, and suspected of all mortal sins. At that time we rather looked like those people who raised a pack of wolves, let them loose and were now trying to catch them. Lastly, the third stage in the development of social thinking coincided with the 19th party conference. It became self-evident that our existing political structures were reproducing anti-perestroyka. For instance, how could the old Supreme Soviet be equal to the new tasks if it was of the same composition as before? The old structures, which provided a dependable foundation for stagnation, have become a Procrustean bed. At the time of renewal, a reform of the political system alone can ensure perestroyka's irreversibility.

Z.H.: I can also name the stages which perestroyka in Czechoslovakia has outgrown. I would call the first of them—a stage of handclapping. We applauded whatever we heard from the rostrum of the 27th CPSU Congress, but did not translate it into our own language. A year of dilly-dallying was needed, and only at the beginning of 1987 did we set about a radical economic reform. Beginning with January 1 next year the whole of our national economy will work under new conditions. Now, we have entered a third stage of perestroyka: drawing up a system of political reforms, beginning with the party itself. All of this is taking place in the light of preparations for the 18th Congress of the CPCZ, which it has been decided to hold a year earlier. The economic reform will be completed in 1990, and the 18th Congress will be a milestone in implementing political reforms.

Ye.Ya.: And the now existing democratic institutions—how good are they?

Z.H.: They need considerable reform. Now we are staging a number of experiments. On the basis of the previous electoral system we are experimenting with elections for deputies, and first secretaries of party committees involving two candidates. The other day the first lesson of this kind took place at the school of democracy: the first secretary was elected from two candidates in one of the district party committees.

Ye.Ya.: Over the past years we must have lost all democratic habits if elections out of two candidates are seen as an experiment.

Z.H.: I am a realist, and I proceed from the real state of society. A year ago during the annual election campaign in the party, when it was necessary to decide how we should vote—by secret ballot or by a show of hands—only 5 per cent of the organizations favoured voting by secret ballot. But this year the overwhelming majority of organizations will vote by secret ballot during the annual meetings.

Ye.Ya.: To what extent will the expected political reforms renew the state, social structures, and create the necessary democratic mechanism? For example, the electoral law we have adopted, even if it is not perfect in every respect, has caused considerable activity on the part of the electorate at the elections of people's deputies of the USSR.

Z.H.: We have just started work on the new Constitution. It is too early to speak about many things. I can say just this: our system is founded on an alliance of political parties and public organizations functioning on the basis of the National Front. It is a dependable basis, and we shall develop it.

Ye.Ya.: The more we speak about the need for renewal today, the more distinctly we visualize the shortcomings of the still existing model of socialism. We called it real socialism, although what was real was not democracy, or government by the people, but antidemocratic processes. But, having admitted this, we cannot but admit the following: in 1968 we joined efforts to defend that socialism in Czechoslovakia which we saw as perfect at that time, whereas now we are speaking about its deformations. Doesn't it mean that the time has come to re-evaluate the events of 20 years ago in Czechoslovakia and take a broader look at where the constructive element of the Prague spring ended and its antisocialist antithesis began? To reconsider where people acted in a desire to set socialism free of shortcomings, and where its enemies capitalized on the real blunders of socialism? All of this is very painful, but what else can we do? We also had to admit that people who were persecuted in the past, named dissidents, some of whom were forced to leave the country, were right in many respects and, the main thing, they were more courageous than those who voiced delightful unanimity on any occasion.

Z.H.: The events of 1968 were limited in time, from January to August. At that time, the January Plenary meeting of the CPCZ Central Committee laid down the lines for rectifying past mistakes. This was reflected in the action programme which appeared a few months later. This was a political compromise, but also an attempt at the creative elaboration of socialism. Even today we are returning to this programme in some respects, drawing from it primarily the principle of self-management for the workforce units. Regrettably, the antisocialist forces gained the upper hand after the first months of development. As a matter of fact, I shall not repeat what is universally known. Those events are over and done with. We will not return to their reappraisal—at any rate our generation. There is no inner need for this.

The consequences of 1968 affected many families, roughly 450,000 persons found themselves outside the party. Needless to say, these people do not bear responsibility equal to that which the leadership of the party at the time was made to bear. The 15th Congress of the CPCZ opened the way back into the party for all those who had earned that right by their work. Today we must do our utmost to enlist former party members in socialist construction. We have a clearly formulated policy towards non-party people.

Ye.Ya.: We also speak constantly about the need to involve non-party people in leading work. But for the time being we have only one non-party minister—composer Raymond Pauls, who is Latvia's Minister of Culture. For lack of other examples, all the newspapers have been writing about him.

Z.H.: In life in general there is a constant gap between the policy of the leadership and its implementation locally. RUDE PRAVO took a stand in defence of a woman who was not made a librarian at her enterprise for the sole reason that she was not a party member. Regrettably, we were unable to help her: the factory not only gave up her services but even sent angry petitioners

to the editorial office—who had given us the right to interfere in their affairs? So that programmes are one thing, but quite often their implementation proves, alas, to be something entirely different. What is important in this case is the party leadership's resolve in translating the adopted political line into life.

*** Academicians, Scholars Defend Zaslavskaya, Aganbegyan**
WA18200203a Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 14 Feb 89 p 2

[Signed "statement" by academicians O. Bogomolov, A. Nikonov, and S. Shatlin and several other scholars: "Perestroyka and Morality"]

[Text] At the beginning of the radical social changes the political commentator stood in the front ranks of the struggle for new ideas. Analysis of the true state of affairs in the country's economy and public life, discussion of ways and versions for the transformations, filling in the blank spots in Soviet history, shaping the new thinking—in all these things the commentator, right from the start of perestroyka, marched ahead of the social sciences, cowed by the dogmatism of the Stalin era and the falsehood and demagoguery of the period of stagnation. Glasnost and the urgency of the tasks being resolved forced them to muster their professional concern, and journalists and many writers and scholars took up their pens. We are now all doing just one very important thing.

And they started this in an empty space. The sorry state of the social sciences on the threshold of the transformations would have been many times worse if at that time, despite the ideological press from the stagnation, experience had not been gained from serious and honest scientific research, and if no work had been done on the principled civic stance that the best of the social scientists courageously defended through those long and difficult years. They also included scholars such as academicians T.I. Zaslavskaya and A.G. Aganbegyan.

It is the more mortifying and alarming that it is precisely these scholars who have been subjected to coarse and unjustified attacks from the dais of the writers' plenum and from the pages of the press. Their ideas are being set forth using unfair methods and are being directly falsified. Their scientific biographies are being mixed up, and again there are distortions and extreme tendentiousness. Doubts are being cast on the thrust of the economic reform, and here it would not be a criminal thing, for the situation demands discussion of the alternatives; but the position of the so-called "commodities people" is being presented in a very distorted and tendentious way. The impression is being created that the purpose of these statements and published pieces is not to establish the truth, not to set one concept against another, but by any means possible to compromise leading scholars in the eyes of public opinion.

Let us turn to the facts. In the mid-sixties Academician T.I. Zaslavskaya started to study rural migration in Novosibirsk Oblast, and the internal logic of the research led to the need to conduct a theoretical examination of the country's agrarian complex as a systems object, and then to embark on an analysis of the socioeconomic links in society as a whole, and then to create a model of the social mechanism involved in the development of the economy, and a new scientific discipline, namely, economic sociology.

Having started out with an alarming statement about the calamitous situation in the countryside and the scientific substantiation for settlement on demands for radical change in the bases of agrarian policy and the allocation of capital investments to develop primarily the entire rural nonproduction sphere, T.I. Zaslavskaya arrived at her concept of regarding economics as a field in which social groups and their socioeconomic interests interacted. This provided a major scientific impulse to advance from the ideology of the worker as a "labor resource" to the ideology of "the human factor" in production.

In A. Salutskiy's report to the writers' plenum this ideology was presented with an accuracy that was "back to front." Taking just one of the six functions of the agrarian sector singled out by the author, this speaker states that T.I. Zaslavskaya is the originator of precisely the "man is a labor resource" approach that she rejected. He also accuses her of unleashing and providing scientific justification for a campaign to destroy the "unpromising" villages, generalizing the speech with quotations of which the overwhelming majority belong not to Zaslavskaya but to authors whom she cites in her work. He totally ignores the fact that T.I. Zaslavskaya played an exceptionally important role in upsetting this fatal campaign: it was precisely her sharply negative expert evaluation of the "General Scheme for Resettlement on the Territory of the USSR," which originated in the USSR Gosstroy and Central Scientific Research and Planning Institute for Urban Development (they were the true authors and conductors of the "resettlement" campaign) that forced a re-examination of that part of the scheme that called for the liquidation of another 200,000 small villages in 1978.

The idea of categorizing villages as those that are promising and those that are unpromising matured in the bowels of the Central Scientific Research and Planning Institute for Urban Development and was published for the first time in 1962 in "Methodological Instructions for Drawing up Schemes for Planning in Agricultural Regions" (pages 40-41) in the institute's publications. So the planners reacted zealously to the program demands to bring the countryside closer to the city in the shortest possible time so that during the Eighties the rural population and all the Soviet population could be living under communism. At that time T.I. Zaslavskaya was working

at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics on the problems of distribution according to labor in kolkhozes, and she had nothing whatever to do with these recommendations.

It was precisely the policy of forcing through a voluntarist elimination of the contradictions between city and countryside that, in addition to the campaign of resettlement, gave rise to their transformation into the agro-city, the reorganization of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes and the curtailment of private subsidiary farming. The question "does the countryside have a future?" was left hanging in the air. It was not resolved until the seventies.

T.I. Zaslavskaya offered justified criticism to such attitudes, and it was precisely for this work that she being analyzed so unfairly.

In this work the terms "promising" and "unpromising" (which, incidentally, A. Salutskiy should note) are not used, but there is an objective analysis of trends in rural resettlement, and steps are recommended to develop both the large settlements and the small by creating centers between settlements to provide output and services, and to expand the highway network.

The objective trend in urbanization was emphasized in the work, a trend that is expressed in particular in the growth of large rural settlements; but there is no call for a campaign of resettlement. On the contrary, when working on long-term plans for rural resettlement it is proposed to proceed from "the need for and inevitability of... preserving most of the existing and emerging new, small rural settlements and the transport communications servicing them." All of the work of T.I. Zaslavskaya considered is permeated with with a differentiated, not a campaign approach to the countryside.

A. Salutskiy's interview in the newspaper MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, and A. Staroverov's article (MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA 5 February 1989) on the same subject—how T.I. Zaslavskaya worked to destroy the Russian countryside- -were totally unfair in their approach. This time the basis for this was a report in which in 1975 T.I. Zaslavskaya generalized materials of a USSR Academy of Sciences commission on socioeconomic problems in the countryside that she headed. Presenting for the government a prediction of development in the agro-industrial complex through 1990, these materials record a whole series of important and alarming trends that were clearly distinguishable in the early seventies, namely, the unjustified and harmful transformation of kolkhozes and sovkhozes, removing the population from small villages because of the poverty of their social infrastructure, the growing proportion of alcoholic beverages in rural trade turnover, with all its depressing poverty on all parameters, the closures of schools, the impossible condition of the roads and transport and rural medicine. A. Salutskiy takes the mere statement of these deep and extensive processes as "recommendations" while failing to remember the well-developed and well-argued recommendations at the end of the report. And they contain the essence of the matter—an appeal for radical change in the approach to management in the countryside: every possible development of its nonproduction sphere, and in the production sphere a shift of emphasis toward cost-accounting relations at all levels and dissemination of the experience of small collectives that were paid according to final results.

We have dwelled in such detail on the work and ideas of T.I. Zaslavskaya as set forth by A. Salutskiy because she has come under the "massed fire" of unjust criticism. However, other eminent economists are also being unfairly accused. Academician A.G. Aganbegyan, for example, has been "caught out" promoting the ruinous "canal building" and being indifferent to the ecology because... at his initiative and under his leadership a scientific expedition was made to the Caspian region, an expedition that A. Salutskiy disparagingly calls "a tourist trip." Such expeditions were a normal thing for the Russian Academy of Sciences and no one ever confused their leaders with tour guides. Then this fine tradition was forgotten, and the academician is the one to thank for its revival. A. Salutskiy reduced all the work and discussion of the expedition to a visit to the Volga-Don canal, borrowing for this the fine-sounding but tendentious description of this episode in the journal VOLGA; he had no other arguments in reserve. Meanwhile, this was one of the first meetings between the scientific community and representatives of the departments whose activity particularly threatens the ecology—a meeting in which the officials obviously lost to the scientists. A.G. Aganbegyan's report at the concluding session of the expedition in the October Hall of the House of the Unions was imbued with alarm for the ecological, economic and social state of the region. It is also worth remembering that the man being accused of indifference to the ecology is one whose signature stands beneath a letter from a number of academicians to the newspaper PRAVDA against the discharge of effluent from the northern rivers—a letter that played a major role in halting the "project of the century."

As we have said, A. Salutskiy criticized the entire thrust of the economic reform now under way for the development of money-exchange relations in every possible way. The course of the reform is in many ways contradictory and is being accompanied by certain delays, and it requires constant discussion and analysis. But it is difficult to call a desire to ascribe to opponents ideas that they do not share and have never expressed by the name of analysis. No serious economist proposes that every kind of centralized management or planning be eradicated, or that it be opposed by full "market spontaneity." (There has been no such thing for a long time, even in capitalist countries.) Various models for reform provide for many variants in combining developed money-exchange relations with planning.

In science there is a generally accepted "presumption of honesty," or as N.I. Vavilov has said, "genes of

decency." It is a certain category of moral imperative, without which science would be unable to develop. This is very important in order to prevent the emergence of a mythology about science and unbased fears of changes in society, and lastly, in order to achieve unity of effort by scientists and political commentators.

[Signed] Academicians O. Bogomolov, A. Nikonov, S. Shatalin; corresponding members of the USSR Academy of Sciences P. Bunich, N. Petrakov; Doctor of Historical Sciences L. Gordon; Doctor of Economic Sciences N. Rimashevskaya; Doctor of Philosophical Sciences V. Yadov.

Stalin's Death Anniversary Obscurely Noted

PM0603162589

[Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 March 1989 Morning Edition carries on page 6 under the headline "About Busts, Happy Childhood, and Other Things. Photoreportage in Dushanbe City February 1989" a 400-word commentary on three photographs featuring respectively a bust of Stalin, a car registration plate recalling the fact that Dushanbe was at one time called Stalinabad, and a building bearing the inscription "Thank You, Comrade Stalin, for A Happy Childhood" with a child standing in the foreground. The commentary contains the only monitored reference to the anniversary of Stalin's death, describing him as the " 'leader of the peoples' who passed away quite some time ago (yet, it seems so recent) 5 March 1953."

* Ordzhonikidze Hijacking Trial Opens in Moscow

WA18000607 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 1 Mar 89 p 6

[Article by G. Orlovskiy: "They Are Accused of Banditry"]

[Text] The events of 1 December of last year are still fresh in everyone's memories: an armed group took hostages—31 fourth-grade pupils—at school No 42 in Ordzhonikidze, and demanded hard currency and an airplane in order to fly out of the country. How the children were saved and the bandits caught, the courage of many workers of the law and order agencies, pilots, and dozens of citizens are already known to the reader. It can be said without exaggeration that the entire government participated in saving the children. It is known that the Israeli authorities, by agreement and as a result of an operation carefully developed by our state security organs, returned the plane and all the members of the band.

In Moscow yesterday, the RSFSR Supreme Court collegium for criminal affairs began to examine the case accusing the group of banditry. Ordzhonikidze residents sat accused: Pavel Lvovich Yashkiyants, born 1950, high school graduate, three previous convictions, a driver. Vladimir Aleksandrovich Muravlev, born 1962, vocational school graduate, without set employment, two previous convictions. German Lvovich Vishnyakov, born 1966, high school graduate, unemployed. Vladimir Robertovich Anastasov, born 1963, eighth grade education, concrete pourer with the "Kanavtostroy" construction and installation administration. Tofii Dzhafarovich Dzhafarov, born 1960, high school graduate, driver.

V. I. Mukhin, member of the USSR Supreme Court, presides over the case, along with people's judges N. K. Shamonov and M. Ye. Smirnov (the former is a fitter at an analytical machine plant, the latter, an instructor at the Mytishchinsk city committee of the CPSU). The prosecution is lead by USSR assistant general prosecutor A. I. Vrublevskiy. The defense is being prepared by the members of the Moscow city collegium of lawyers.

The finding of guilt was announced, from which it follows that the band was well organized, and had a clear plan to flee the country. They craved "the high life," and committed an inhuman act—choosing the lives of children as the means to their end. This is how events appear from the finding of guilt: having hijacked a bus, they took it to a print shop, where students and their teacher were having a field trip. Impersonating the "bosses," they led the children into the bus. During the investigation, Yashkiyanets explained, "Adults are hard to hold, so we took children. There's a thousand percent guarantee, they're not going to risk children's lives."

They cynically calculated for everything. They presented the ultimatum: airplane, hard currency and drugs. The threat to the children's lives was real. Great self-restraint was required of all who took part in the operation to save their lives. The behavioral options for the armed group had to be run through in minutes; the rescuers had to be able to foresee their every step.

It remains to be established during the trial who played what role in the organized group—the degree of their guilt. One thing may be said now: The prosecution has the fundamental material. Yes, we have encountered actions, the likes of which have perhaps never been seen in our country. These are things we have read about and seen in foreign films. How and why this took place within our borders—he opening of the case will help answer that, I hope.

In the courtroom is Natalya Vladimirovna Dzagoyeva (Yefimova), the courageous teacher who did all she could to save the children's lives, and stayed with them up to the moment of their release. I asked her, "What do you expect from the trial?" It is difficult for her to speak; everything she went through during those days is in her heart. "People should find out everything about them. What I saw was beyond the limits of human understanding." However difficult it will be for them, several of the pupils will also have to appear as witnesses. Conditions in the courtroom must therefore be extremely calm; the children's psyche must not be traumatized. Judge V. I. Mukhin is conducting the case under strict procedural norms. No hullabaloo; justice is at work.

The accusation from Article 77 of the USSR Criminal Code is presented: banditry, one of the most severe. It provides for sanctions up to the highest level of punishment. After the case is examined, which will take a certain amount of time, this newspaper will relay the results of the trial.

*** Journalists, Lawyers Discuss Churbanov Trial**
WA18000581 Moscow TRUD in Russian
23 Feb 89 p 4

[Article by S. Artyukhov: "But Who Are the Accused?"]

[Text] If anyone, remembering Chatskiy's famous question—"But who are the judges?"—decides that the headline is imprecise, he is mistaken.

The thing with judges happened to be perfectly clear at a meeting in the Central House of Writers [TsDL] that I recently attended. The moderator smiled while presenting to those sitting in the auditorium the guests, members of the Military Collegium of the USSR Supreme Soviet who had judged Churbanov, and eight workers from the Uzbekistan MVD.

"As you see, our judicial collegium is here in full force. Therefore, it would be entirely possible to open today's meeting with the words, 'All rise, the court is in session!'"

The joke obviously didn't work. A bewildered pause rose in the hall; someone's stifled laugh escaped, and someone else cautiously asked:

"But who are the accused?"

"Don't rush, there will be both the accused and the accusations," the moderator solemnly promised.

I recalled the text of the invitation which had been sent out to the writers in advance.

"The lessons of the 'Churbanov trial.' A meeting with journalists and lawyers. Moderator: A. Borin. Admission by Writers' Union card."

How should this be understood—a meeting with journalists and lawyers, which one may attend only by having a Writers' Union card? And there was heightened security, with cards checked at the TsDL entrance, and the hall entrance.... Why was the "purity of the ranks" being observed so carefully? The moderator explained that we do not to repeat the entire trial here, and thus did not invite anyone from the prosecutor's office, nor anyone who had conducted the investigation. We gathered here in order to hear the judges.

Well, is this odd? Churbanov's trial was held in open court, and lessons are to be learned behind closed doors? According to the words of A. Borin himself, society is suffering from an "information hunger" concerning the "Churbanov case," yet can the truth really be sought without hearing out the various sides, without comparing opinions and evaluations?

Alas, in order to be heard, some journalists and jurists had to get into TsDL by alternate routes. Even Yevgeniy Dorolev, author of a number of publications in TRUD, was not let into the hall.

By chance, using someone else's card, Nadezhda Konstantinovna Popova, prosecutor of the investigative section of the USSR Procuracy, investigation supervisor, was allowed in. However, the moderator flatly refused to allow her to speak. When she got up to the stage all the same, he rudely grabbed the microphone from her. And only after the audience firmly demanded it was Popova given the floor....

In a word, the meeting's organizers had set up a one-sided match from the very beginning. This, incidentally, was thoroughly perceived by those gathered. The writer Mikhaylovskaya, whom the moderator also refused to give the floor, resoundingly noted "they invited us here as extras."

No, it was not in vain that the moderator promised to produce an accusation and name the accused. It was indeed produced. M. A. Marov, who presided as chairman during the case, faulted all the clumsiness which arose during the trial, the low professional level of the conduct of the investigation, and the violations of socialist legality while it was in process. For exactly this reason, so to say, millions of bribes figured in the beginning of the case. Then the sum of the bribes which Churbanov was accused of receiving was "cut" to 650,000 rubles; then yet another portion of the incidents was excluded, and the final figure was only 90,000 rubles. See, they said, how unprofessionally the investigation gathered its evidence.

This is how the case appeared from the court's point of view. Yet this is exactly why Popova attempted to get to the stage, to tell the writers that many incidents were excised from the final sentence, that this is the result of a purely judicial dispute, different interpretations: what should be considered a bribe, and what a gift. Incidents were excluded depending upon the interpretation, and not at all because the investigation was poorly "worked out."

Could it really be that this view from the other side was unimportant? All the more so because the meeting had proposed to study the lessons of the trial. Here, then, is a lesson: the norms of the criminal law concerning bribery are in need of refinement and interpretation; incidentally, this had been covered in the newspaper even before the trial.

The judges who came to the TsDL also accused the investigation of forgery and falsification of documents. But why here, and not in the private determination of the court? This was because they have no basis for this. Who, then, gave them the right to discredit the investigation?

An interview with Churbanov's lawyer, Andrey Makarov, on the television program "Fifth Wheel" was mentioned at the meeting. In part of the interview, the lawyer labeled false a document produced by the investigation about an incident of a bribe being transferred from Begelman to Churbanov, and that Karbovskaya, whose signature is on the document, is "nonexistent."

The USSR Procuracy criminal specialist V. Bobrov got up on the stage and said that the Procuracy possesses a videotape of a conversation with this "nonexistent" Karbovskaya, in which she completely openly describes how and under what circumstances she composed this document.

The truth is born when all sides have the opportunity to be heard out. Then why was everything done to prevent such discussion from taking place? Why did A. Borin have to announce to the writers who requested the floor that they had only one freedom, the freedom to sit back down? Or threaten to remove the overly curious from the hall?

We are building a rule-of-law state, envisaging the foundations of criminal legislation and planning judicial reform. And the "Churbanov trial" demonstrated once again many imperfections in this area. These imperfections become visible only when they are openly discussed, and open only when various opinions are considered and sides heard out. Any attempt at a one-sided match will inevitably turn into a "Churbanov verdict" into an "investigation verdict," which it seems the organizers of the meeting of "jurist and journalists" were aiming for at the Central House of Writers.

* Justice Minister Addresses New Lawyers' Union

WA18000605 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 9, 1 Mar 89 p 1

[Article by T. Feoktistova: "A Union of Defenders"]

[Text] **What LITERATURNAYA GAZETA has written about repeatedly, what legal experts have long been expecting has happened: a union of USSR lawyers has been created!**

Delegates to the first congress of USSR lawyers in the entire history of our state worked for 2 days at the end of last week. The work proceeded in a polemical collision of opinions. The main problems of the bar were discussed: departmental dependency and the command-administrative methods that certain officials of the Ministry of Justice have tried to use—up to the very last days!—to guide the lawyers. Apparently all of this also caused the USSR minister of justice, B. V. Kravtsov, to begin his speech with a sentence that evoked laughter in the audience: "I wish to dispel the image of the enemy in the form of our ministry...." The minister admitted: Yes, there has been favoritism and command methods and absurd instructions. But, after all, it was workers of the Ministry of Justice who did everything so that this congress could be held today.

Yes, this is true. But the speakers noted something else as well: The congress could have taken place earlier, at the end of last year, were it not for the command-administrative syndrome: leaders of the Ministry of Justice did not like the composition of the organizing committee. As a result, while a new organizing committee was being created, the date was missed and the congress was held TWO MONTHS LATER. And the lawyers did not manage to nominate candidates for deputies in the forthcoming elections.

The speakers spoke sharply, candidly, and constructively about something else as well: about the lawyer's lack of rights; about how, despite articles in the press, the defender has not up to this point been allowed in the first stage of investigation; about the distortions in pay, which have created a situation in which the lawyers basically work in the sphere of criminal cases, and the majority of civil suits are resolved without their participation.

During the recess I asked a well-known lawyer, A. M. Makarov, to comment on these problems:

"...The lawyer exists in order," said Andrey Mikhaylovich, "to prevent conflicts between the citizens and the law. But in our legal constitution it says to GO NOT BEFORE, BUT AFTER THE CONFLICT. The lawyer should be an ADVISER in the sphere of law. It is this role that will help to ensure the main principle of a rule-of-law state—the primacy of the law in all spheres of state, economic, and private life...."

But is it possible to provide for this primacy without resolving, for example, the problem of the shortage of defenders? Here are the figures Makarov gave me: the number of lawyers in our country is less by a factor of 2.5 than there were in all of Russia in 1913. It is embarrassing to speak of this, but it is impossible not to mention it! In Moscow, for example, there is one lawyer for approximately 8,000-9,000 people, and in New York—one for every 260 people.

Therefore, the new union must do everything possible to sharply increase the number of well-trained defenders and to strengthen their authority.

The congress adopted a charter which said that the USSR Lawyers' Union is a public, self-governing organization. Its task is to contribute to the creation of a socialist rule-of-law state, to develop legal awareness, and to render all-around legal assistance. And one of the points notes: The elected board headed by the chairman

(this was an honored lawyer of the RSFSR, G. A. Voskresenskiy) and other congress agencies DOES NOT HAVE ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITY with respect to the boards of lawyers. That is, administrative-command methods are rejected in the new union once and for all.

And so the USSR Lawyers' Union has been created. It is a long-awaited event which marks a real step on the path to legal reform.

MVD Veterans Deny 'Inhumanity' at Karaganda Camps
PM0603094089 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 3 Mar 89 p 1

[Our correspondent M. Petrov "Rejoinder": "Vacation 'Camp'...."]

[Text] Karaganda—"If I had my way, I would shoot the author of that article," an elderly man shouted from the auditorium.

Ye.B. Kuznetsova, department chief at the oblast newspaper INDUSTRIALNAYA KARAGANDA (author of an article about the Karlag [Karaganda camps]), who was sitting next to me, shuddered. Murmurs of approval sped across the auditorium and applause could be heard from the corners.

They still exist people who, without shrinking from the television cameras, consider shooting to be a powerful argument in a civic dispute.

I was reporting from a meeting of the "Memorial" initiative group in Karaganda Oblast with veterans of MVD organs who worked in sections of the Karaganda camps in the thirties, forties, and fifties. The group was set up 2 months ago. The meeting in question, a step toward uncovering the whole truth about those terrible times, happened, but....

"The inaccessibility of the Karaganda Oblispolkom Internal Affairs Administration archives," the group's leader, D.P. Telegin, chairman of the oblast television and radio committee, told those present, "dictated the need for this meeting. We want to learn from you truthful information about the situation in the Karlag at that time and the conditions in which political prisoners were held; with your help we want to establish how many of them there were and what kind of people they were."

The intention was good, but the effort was wasted.

"Of course, we obtained very little information," Dmitriy Pavlovich confided in me after the meeting, "but I, for instance, formed a good idea of the mood of those present."

What were the participants in the meeting told?

It transpires that there were almost no political prisoners in the camps near Karaganda. The main bulk of the prisoners were criminals. And no one could remember an instance of inhumanity or even rude behaviour toward the convicts. Only idyllic pictures of touching concern for the prisoners were preserved in memory. Port wine was delivered regularly, in large quantities, to the pharmacies for treating the prisoners. Once a check by the prosecutor's office found 19 tonnes of uneaten high-quality fish at the dump (evidently the convicts were so tired of it that they were simply refusing to eat it). All in all, it was not the prisoners at the camps who had a hard time, it was them.... It is not a question of seeking culprits. After so many years you cannot accuse everyone, tar everyone with the same brush. There were different kinds of people—on both sides of the barbed wire.

They said they do not have the faintest idea where the sites of mass burials are. And in any case, were there any?! ("Yes, prisoners died, but at the same time people at liberty were dying too....") They also said that after serving their sentences people used to remain of their own free will in Karaganda and the nearby settlements: They had grown so attached to the camps that they could not bring themselves to leave.

I don't know about anyone else, but for me, these monologues were reminiscent of scenes from the theater of the absurd. What are we talking about? Is it conceivable to pass off these "reminiscences" for the truth about the Stalinist camps? Surely this is blasphemy: beating your chest and declaring that nothing happened, no one took part in anything of the kind, no one saw anything or heard anything.

"It is a good thing they invited us," A.Ye. Zhuravleva began her speech. "Otherwise the journalists write God knows what, and young people read it and believe it all...."

Would it perhaps be more logical for the initiative group to have a meeting with prisoners from the Karlag too?

Yes, such a meeting is planned.

There is hope that we will learn the whole truth about the times of the Karlag and the other "lags," remember everyone's names, rehabilitate them in society's eyes, and perpetuate the memory of the innocent who died.

Moscow To Receive Republic Radio Programs
LD0503193889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 5 May 89

[Text] At the end of March, 14 new programs will be heard on Moscow's airwaves. The inhabitants of our multiethnic capital will now be able to hear programs from the radio stations of the union republics. On 14 March Ukrainian, Belorussian, Moldavian, Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian radio programs will start being

broadcast to the city. On 21 March programs from the Transcaucasian republics will appear on Moscow airwaves, and those of central Asia will do so beginning 28 March. Let us note that inhabitants of areas close to Moscow will also be able to pick up these programs. The 14 new programs will be broadcast on the short wave on the 31 and 49 meter wave bands. A list of frequencies will be published in the weekly GOVORIT I POKAZYVAYET MOSKVA.

*** Association of Civil Aviation Personnel Created**
WA18290112 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 26 Feb 89 p 3

[Article by I. Yermakov: "The Informal Became Formal"]

[Text] An association of USSR civil aviation flight personnel has been created. The opinion of the delegates who met yesterday for a constituent conference was unanimous—there will be an association. The official founders of the new society are the Ministry of Civil Aviation and the Airline Workers' Union Central Committee.

"The need for such a public organization was stated long ago," clarified A. Kochur, a pilot standing at the source of the aviators' public movement. "In December of last year, the most active Aeroflot veterans flew and rode into Moscow from all over the country. For us, veterans are not necessarily pensioners. They are the forefront, the most experienced and authoritative specialists of the flying professions, the informal leaders, as they say nowadays. Those gathered, and there were more than 400 people, resolved to create their own association. They selected an initiative group. The undertaking was supported by the All-Union Central Trade Council and the Central Committee of the Union Trade Association. At their suggestion, the initiative group was registered in the Central Committee public department for work with the flight personnel...."

"But why did only Aeroflot's flight personnel decide to form an association?"

"The other service workers have no fewer social and production problems. Yet they may apply their efforts to any other branch of the national economy. This is often just what they do. But pilots have no choice. This is where we get leadership in the processes of renewal, activity not only at the tribunes, but in practical affairs," feels A. Malinovskiy, pilot and manager at the same time of the trade union Central Committee public relations department. "Yet this is still alien to our professional egoism. We are not gathered here to solve our own problems at anyone else's expense. And we are convinced that flight security can be provided only by observing the interests of all aviation workers without exception."

"What goals will the association set for itself?"

"The main thing is to increase flight security; after all, not only our lives but the passengers' lives depend on this. Then, the defense of the association members' professional and social interests, the elevation of the prestige of the profession of flying," answers A. Kochur. "We plan to take up the analysis and development of proposals and measures on matters of flight practice and technology. Without a doubt, it is high time that we take seriously the issues of conditions for labor and living, the social and legal defense of the flight personnel, collaboration of foreign airlines' pilots with the association."

"Who may become a member of the association?"

"Any Soviet citizen who has evidence of his status as a civilian aviation flight specialist, as well as our former membership-dues-paying colleagues with a flight record of no less than 10 years, in accordance with the aims and tasks of the association."

Economic

Trade Official Announces Reduced Oil Exports
LD0303215189 Moscow TASS in English 2020 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 3 TASS—Asked about Soviet oil export plans for the near future, Vladimir Arutyunyan, chairman of the All-Union Foreign Trade Association Soyuznefteexport, told TASS that Soviet oil exports for freely convertible currency will be reduced approximately by five per cent in the first six months of 1989 as against the same period of 1988.

*** Provisions of Cooperative Tax Law Discussed**
WA18280074 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 21 Feb 89 p 2

[Interview with L. Nikiforov, candidate of economic sciences and department head at the USSR Academy of Sciences Economics Institute, by S. Panasenko, special SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA correspondent: "Cooperation and Taxes"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Panasenko] The document on taxation regulations for cooperatives is nearing completion. What are its main provisions? We asked this question of L. Nikiforov, candidate of economic sciences, department head at the USSR Academy of Sciences Economics Institute.

[Nikiforov] The first is the emphasis on evening out the conditions of activities of cooperative and state enterprises. The tax on cooperatives will increase and will be levied on gross income, not on profit. The second is that the specific procedure for levying the tax and its amount will be set by the republic Councils of Ministers. There will be no directions on this at the union level. These are the basic principles.

[Panasenko] Do you agree with them?

[Nikiforov] Absolutely not with the first one; partially with the second. The inequality between cooperatives and state enterprises exists not just with taxes, and that is not where we should begin. Cooperatives are in an incomparably worse situation with regard to material and technical supply, market, and capital-labor ratio. They pay triple the price for raw materials. If we are to even out the cooperative and state sectors, we must work from this end. As far as delegating tax policy to republic authorities, I would welcome this step if it were met with support everywhere, as in the Baltic, let's say. Then this would be reasonable and democratic. But now the situation is different. In a number of regions, local authorities do not have much regard for cooperatives. Giving the local authorities such a powerful instrument of influence can lead to a sharp deterioration of the conditions of existence for cooperatives, and in some places to their complete eradication.

[Panasenko] Who drew up this document?

[Nikiforov] Mainly, the USSR Ministry of Finance. The draft was coordinated in the prescribed manner with various departments, with the union republic Councils of Ministers, and with scientific organizations.

[Panasenko] Was the opinion of the scientists taken into account?

[Nikiforov] I can only speak about our institute. On a number of positions, it was; they listened to our reasons. Unfortunately, this did not apply to the fundamental questions.

[Panasenko] What exactly?

[Nikiforov] I mentioned two of them—evening out the conditions of activities and giving tax authority to the republics. The third is the maximum tax rate.

The point is that the draft initially did not limit the tax rate at all. It could be set at 50, 60, or even 99 percent. Many specialists, including us, believed it was necessary to limit arbitrary actions by putting into the document a "ceiling," above which the tax rate could not be set. They listened to us and set it at...40 percent, using the state enterprises as a model. Meanwhile, we made some calculations which showed that the optimum tax rate for cooperatives is roughly 25 percent. This is a rate at which neither the cooperatives nor the budget are the loser. Increase it, and the number of taxpayers will decrease, and the total receipts coming into the budget will not increase, but, on the contrary, will begin to drop. They listened to us and...went back to the original unlimited scheme.

[Panasenko] Are there some kind of tax breaks or discounts provided?

[Nikiforov] Yes. Incidentally, that is one of the points where they took our recommendations into account, although not fully. The initial list of cooperatives to which tax breaks apply was expanded. Tax breaks are established for newly forming cooperatives, for those operating in the far north and in similar difficult conditions, and for those engaged in especially important types of social services: care of the sick, elderly and so forth. Overall, there are quite a few breaks.

[Panasenko] Does it provide for tax breaks for scientific-technical and engineering cooperatives?

[Nikiforov] No, and that is another flaw of the draft. Genuine scientific and technical cooperatives not engaged in intervening work but in original creative activities deserved breaks. You see, this is one of the most important directions of developing cooperatives.

True, the local soviets have the right to establish breaks and reductions in the taxes in effect throughout the republic. But, understandably, they are more likely to exercise this right with respect to cooperatives serving the residents of a rayon or city than those filling orders from some distant, unfamiliar plants.

[Panasenko] The Ministry of Finance would have us believe that it is not possible to differentiate tax rates by the types of activities of cooperatives, since it is sometimes impossible to check them. What is your opinion?

[Nikiforov] This is indeed a complicated issue. There are many comprehensive, multi-profile cooperatives, and it is no simple matter to break down their income according to the various types of activities. But there is always a main direction of activities or several of them, and the rest are secondary. Finally, overseas, they are resolving a more complicated problem of taxation of multinational corporations such as General Motors. They do it everywhere.

[Panasenko] Perhaps, then at least part of the income which is used for production development and experimental work should be tax-free, as many cooperatives suggest?

[Nikiforov] Of course, it should be. And we pressed for this. But I did not find this in the draft. Of the overall taxable amount, contributions to the Children's Fund, say, are excluded. That is good, but a cooperative's goal is not charity, but production of commodities for the market. Cooperatives are now going through merely the initial stage of development. Surveys conducted in Moscow show that their capital-labor ratio is an average of one-tenth that of similar state enterprises. Manual labor is widespread, and the conditions are far from ideal. We need to raise the level of equipment of cooperative enterprises and the tax policy must contribute to this.

Violation of Cooperative Laws Addressed

PM0203151589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Feb 89 Second Edition p 3

["Lawyer's Notes" by S. Alekseyev, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "What Is Permitted and What Is Prohibited"]

[Text] Quite recently the USSR Council of Ministers adopted two resolutions related to the cooperative system. One was directly devoted to it. It concerned those kinds of activity which are either banned entirely or are permitted only on the conclusion of a contract with organizations for which such types of activity are their basic work. The second resolution was on measures to regulate price formation where problems of the cooperative movement are also affected.

The documents in question produced a mixed reaction among the population, cooperative members, and in the press. From the unreservedly and unconditionally positive (mostly among the population and consumers) to the sharply negative (many cooperative members and publicists)—sometimes expressed roughly in such phrases as "an anti-restructuring document" and "unlawful resolutions."

What are the facts?

There must be a calm, businesslike analysis here, without undue emotion, based on the real situation, scientific data, and of course the requirements of the law. Let us try to examine the difficult questions broached by the USSR government resolutions.

In May 1988, the country's cooperative system received the necessary legal foundation—the Law on the Cooperative System. This is a major political and legal document creating the conditions for the cooperative movement's development. One of the document's considerable merits is the consistent realization of the general legal principle that "everything is permitted apart from what is prohibited by law."

Let us take what is permitted. What does this mean—that you can do and act as you like? Certainly not!

I am going to dwell on the following point: In addition to the consistent realization of the principle of what is generally permitted the law contains another, no less important facet. The objectives of the permits are defined absolutely precisely. Priority is given to activity designed to meet the population's interests and needs for food and high-quality goods and services and to satisfy the real needs of the market and the national economy.

Let us recall that general authorization does not amount simply to saying that "anything goes." There is also the idea expressed in the words "...apart from what is prohibited by law." This part of the phrase is of the utmost importance and principle. After all, permission without this "apart from" is not a legal right (a legal right is always a precise "yardstick" of behavior with strict limits), whereas total license is the sanctioning of arbitrary action clearly no less terrible than the tyranny of the bureaucratic system.

Does that mean that the Law on the Cooperative System should have named the kinds of activity prohibited to cooperative members? I think that from the purely legal standpoint that would have been the best solution to the problem.

Nevertheless, those people who believe that this was unnecessary during the adoption of the law were more correct. Indeed, at that time the administrative and command system with its countless prohibitions still dominated our consciousness and it was necessary to give a most clear and totally unambiguous guideline toward the broad authorization of cooperative activity.

It is not just a matter of consciousness. At the time that this particular law was being adopted there were already precise legal statutes on the kinds of activity prohibited to citizens and their associations. In particular, there is the Law on Individual Labor Activity. The legal regulation of cooperatives' activity is rooted in that very law, which lists the kinds of occupation, consumer service, and sociocultural activity which are banned (the manufacture of chemicals, perfumes, and cosmetics, certain specialized medical activities, and the organization of public events). All this was established quite recently, essentially on the eve of the adoption of the Law on the Cooperative System in the USSR. Therefore, when dealing with the latter, cooperatives and soviet ispolkoms which register the work of cooperatives had before them clear guidelines enabling them to judge what is permitted and what is not.

In brief, when the Law on the Cooperative System was being adopted, there were considerable grounds for believing that, even without the introduction of prescriptive and restrictive norms into its text, it would work in accordance with the planned tasks of satisfying the growing demands of the national economy and the population. In any event there were grounds for thinking that after the law's entry into force it would be possible to assess the direction that development would take and in light of practice take the necessary measures if those expectations were not fully justified. In view of this the law also established that the USSR Council of Ministers has the right to determine the specific features of its application not only in particular sectors of the national economy but also to certain kinds of cooperatives.

Did it all go as planned when the law was being adopted? In the main, yes. The law has become an effective means of developing the cooperative movement. Tens of thousands of cooperatives have been formed in the country and are producing more and more output.

But, unfortunately, negative phenomena and unhealthy trends have appeared and have spread in the cooperative movement. This has taken the form of the direct violation of the aims of the Law on the Cooperative System and the principles enshrined in it as well as of the principles of socialist law and order as a whole.

It is appropriate here to make the following observation. When talking about the operation of a law and its application one should not reduce it all to the implementation of individual norms taken in isolation. Each norm is a part of the law, the "bearer" of its aims and principles, just as the law itself is merely part of the country's legal system, which also has statutes and general principles which have to be taken into account in the operation and application of the present law. In our instance, as we can see, prohibited types of activity capable of serving as a guideline for cooperatives were indicated earlier in certain current legal documents.

Unfortunately, some cooperatives, in outright breach of the aims of the Law on the Cooperative System, have directed their activity not toward the production of high quality goods, supplying the market with goods, or providing the population with services, but toward "making money."

Furthermore, some cooperative members have begun to directly violate the law's norms. For example, output made from state raw and semi-finished materials has been sold at prices exceeding the centrally established prices and without any responsibility being assumed for the quality of the goods. Quite often retail trade has been deprived of finished goods which, though hardly altered, were sold at higher prices in a different wrapper. In the public catering sphere this practice became widespread in a number of places: Food made from products bought at a fixed price in the retail trade system was sold at grotesquely high prices.

Of course, the main means of overcoming all this lies in economic methods, the development of all sectors of the economically accountable economy, and socialist competition. What if for a number of reasons none of this has happened yet? What if the methods of economic accountability have still not been mastered everywhere? What if there really is a shortage of goods and services and it is growing? And what if, consequently, there are extensive opportunities for speculation and parasitical exploitation of the existing difficulties? We have quite a few cooperative members who have taken that path. Should the law really say nothing?

Unfortunately, some local soviets have not shown due exactingness, vigilance, or understanding of the law when registering individual cooperatives. Law enforcement and other state organs proved inadequate when implementing the provisions of the law on price control.

As for state enterprises, in a number of cases they have entered into a "conspiracy of silence" with cooperatives, transferring to them, to their mutual satisfaction, the discharge of their own functions and settling up with the cooperatives without worrying too much about the cost—they took money from the production development and equipment funds. As a result, this non-cash money, which in the national economy is significant mainly as an accounting device, was turned into "hard cash" in the cooperative members' hands. Is that not the main source of the large amount of money not backed up by goods which has entered into circulation recently?

I am not going to dwell particularly on the actual amounts received by some cooperative members as personal incomes. If those incomes have been honestly earned, let them be as large as they like. But some cooperative members have made colossal amounts of money in a short time, particularly those who have sold imported personal computers.

Surely the most regrettable consequence of the negative phenomena and unhealthy trends that I have mentioned is the discrediting in working people's eyes of the idea of the cooperative movement and of everything positive which it has brought the country. And if people are speaking about a "blow against the cooperative movement," which is what it is, that blow has been struck by those unhealthy trends which have emerged among cooperative members. Recently a USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree was published laying down the procedure for levying income tax from cooperatives. It lays down that tax rates are set by local organs of power on the basis of the principles of social justice, the nature of the cooperatives' activity, and the need for economic incentives for the development of particular cooperatives.

Let us return to the USSR Council of Ministers resolutions with which we began these notes.

The first point which must be made as clearly as possible is that they are not only economically and socially validated but also have a lawful and legal basis. The resolutions were adopted within the limits of the competence of the USSR Council of Ministers in accordance with Article 54 of the Law on the Cooperative System in the USSR. They define the specific features of the operation of the law in individual sectors of the national economy as well as the specific features of its application to individual cooperatives.

I would also like to draw attention to the fact that the resolutions absolutely do not restrict, limit, and in particular do not prohibit the productive, creative, economic, or other socially worthwhile activity for which the cooperative movement in the country was created and is developing.

The USSR government resolutions have of course produced certain costs and difficulties, partially problems of ownership in connection with the closure of some cooperatives, but also mainly losses of a psychological nature. After all, until very recently we spoke mainly in praise of cooperatives and condemned bureaucrats who obstructed their activity. We paid little heed to the voice of ordinary workers who increasingly insistently demanded order in the cooperative movement. All this created the semblance of well-being.

But on the whole the government resolutions on cooperatives ensure the strengthening of the legal basis of the cooperative movement in the USSR. They provide the finishing touch to it, so to speak, and answer the questions left open in the law itself.

Of course, we have not achieved the ideal state on all the points of the legal regulation of cooperatives' activity yet. The democratically based solution of taxation questions by union republics in light of all the local conditions will be an important step. It is possible that in the future the permanently operating USSR Supreme Soviet will return to the law on the cooperative system itself and will insert the necessary amendments and additions directly into its text. Even now, after the government resolutions that have been adopted and the union republics' solution of taxation questions, the legal regulation of the cooperative movement in the country is quite comprehensive in character. And this corresponds to the law's requirements and the principles of the rule-of-law state.

Benefits for Certain Cooperatives Urged

PM0603110989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5

[Commentary by I. Shilin, doctor of economic sciences, following roundup of readers' letters, under the general heading: "Cooperation or Speculation?"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

Expert Comments

Why is the number of people with a negative and even hostile attitude toward cooperative workers increasing? I think that this is above all because the targeted functions of cooperative activity have been somewhat distorted. As a result, instead of the consolidation of forces necessary to ensure the successful course of radical reform, we have an outburst of social conflicts.

The directive decisions oriented cooperatives on the mass consumer, in other words, on the person earning an average wage. In 1987 this was equivalent to R202.9 [monthly] across the country. The maximum was R229 (Estonia) and the minimum R164.9 (Azerbaijan). Cooperatives were designed to increase the quantity of good-quality, cheap goods and services. But the opposite trend—orientation on the high-earning consumer—has so far prevailed. Will this help the cooperative movement to progress and, in particular, to prosper?

Today prices for most cooperative articles are high. This is acknowledged both by the producers themselves, by the staff in state stores, where cooperative goods can be obtained at commission prices, and also, of course, by consumers. Prices rise even though the goods are often of an inferior quality to state enterprises' output. Besides, the customer has no guarantees and no legal protection. Once again we are faced with a producer diktat.

I must particularly talk about children's goods. The most basic child's romper costs R22. The state price for this kind of article is R6 and the prime cost is approximately R5. A swimsuit costs R12. This is the peculiar thing: Since there is a shortage of raw materials, cooperative workers buy ready-made linen goods and tights from stores in order to manufacture such suits (at state prices). Profitability (profits in relation to cost) is probably no less than 300 percent. State enterprises should have equal rights with cooperatives in the context of improving our economy. It is important to give people an opportunity to work effectively and encourage their desire to achieve more. The experience of Japan, where the ratio of constant to variable elements in wages is 30:70, is interesting. That is if a man works, as we would say, without energy, he will only receive 30 percent of the possible remuneration. He has to put in a bit of effort to earn more.

The press has already reported on the experience of the "Odessa" cooperative in Ilichevsk: The same people, using the same equipment, with the same organizational and production structure, doubled their output. What had changed? The system of labor remuneration. The result was that in October 1988 the average pay at the "cooperative" workshop reached R548 and certain workers earned up to R1000.

The experiment in Ilichevsk is significant for something else. It shows that radical reform can and should produce rapid tangible results for people who work in the new fashion. As the economy improves, so the position of other strata of the country's population will also improve. This will only happen when many of the current distortions that rebound on cooperatives are removed. It is no accident that they have found themselves in a disadvantageous position. I mean, in terms of their supply of raw materials, semimanufactures, equipment, and the prices for these products.

Returning to cooperatives, let me say in conclusion: They can to a certain extent be divided into two large groups: Those that operate on state prices and those where the prices are 2-3 times—or more—higher. Hence the attitude toward them should be differentiated. The former group should be exempt from taxes for 2-3 years (that is normal practice abroad). Raw materials, semimanufactures, and various components could (and

should) be sold to them at state prices. The recently published draft Law on Quality and the Decree on Taxation for Cooperatives take into account the balance of interests to a certain degree. Although, admittedly, they by no means fully resolve the problems revealed in the letters that have been published. We must also consider other constructive steps.

Statistics on Mobility of Cadres Examined

PM2802145589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
27 Feb 89 Second Edition p 1

[V. Brovkin commentary under the rubric "In the Mirror of Statistics": "Where Are Cadres Moving?"]

[Text] "It is winter, yet there is a crowd at the railroad station ticket counters. You frequently hear from acquaintances: 'I have changed my job. You know, fish try to find a place where the water is deepest, and people a place where they are better off.' There is a kind of general migration of people. Does this not hamper our life and work?" This letter was sent to the editorial office by V. Smetanin, a labor veteran from Perm.

There is no denying that the pace of our life has accelerated, and sometimes we are ourselves amazed at our mobility. This, just as any other phenomenon relating to life, has its pluses and its minuses. The latest press release of the USSR State Committee for Statistics also notes: Cadres are on the move.

In 1987-1988 an absolute reduction in the number of people employed in industry, agriculture, and transport was observed for the first time. This fact as such calls for interpretation. It indicates that at long last a long-sought-after breakthrough has been achieved, that we have managed to switch from extensive development to intensification in these sectors. We are managing to produce more with a smaller workforce. After all, production plans and their implementation increased during this period.

This, in itself, is a pleasing phenomenon. However, I try to find that part of the press release which gives the concrete figures. I could use a magnifying glass, so small are the quantities.

However, let us find out what the trend is. Where are the cadres moving? In 1986 the number of people employed at state enterprises and organizations accounted for 75.29 percent of the total number of working people. In 1988 the figure was a straight 75 percent. So the reduction totaled all of 0.29 percent. The number of people employed on kolkhozes decreased by 0.23 percent. These fractions of percentage points reappeared in the categories "cooperatives for the production of goods and services," which did not exist before, and under "individual labor." Insignificant displacements, it would seem, but in absolute figures they look impressive. By 1 October 1988 there were 787,400 cooperative workers in the country and 627,600 people engaged in "individual labor activities." Together they total almost 1.5 million. The new forms of management are increasingly making their mark.

Nonetheless, the bulk of the country's plans continues to be implemented by the working class. It totals 82 million people, or two-thirds of the working population.

A statistical report is, of course, not a window through which all the changes which are taking place in the working environment can be perceived in minute detail. But it does show significant changes. For instance this one: Training of skilled workers for the creation and operation of new equipment and automated production facilities using computers, robots, microprocessor systems, and flexible technologies has increased noticeably. So, over the last 3 years the number of machine tool and program-controlled manipulator adjusters has increased 2.8-fold, the number of computer operators has increased 1.6-fold, and the number of automatic production line adjusters by 1.8-fold. More and more high-grade specialists are landing on the shore of scientific and technical progress. This, too, is a pleasing phenomenon: They are swimming toward this shore, leaving behind the doleful shore where heavy manual labor still dominates. During the first 2 years of the 5-year plan 1.5 million people have been freed from this kind of labor. It must be frankly admitted, though, that the rate of the reduction of manual labor is still lagging behind the plan target. It is necessary to accelerate this process by 50 percent in order to reach the target of liberating 5.3 million workers from manual labor by 1990.

The question "Where are cadres moving?" can also be answered in geographical terms. The needle of the compass points above all to Siberia and the Far East. Here the increase in the number of workers and employees is 2.4 times the indicator for the country as a whole.

Where do these people come from? The short answer is—from everywhere. This includes Central Asia and the Transcaucasus, where there has been a surplus of labor resources for many years. Some 24,000 people, availing themselves of the services of organized recruitment, left these parts for areas where labor resources are in short supply. Nonetheless, it still is not easy to find a job in Uzbekistan, Georgia, Tajikistan, Azerbaijan, Turkmenia, or Kirghizia. The question arises here: Should we sit and wait for labor reinforcements to arrive at existing bases, especially in the case of the light or food industry, which can be flexibly developed in the midst of the people who were hitherto unoccupied, and as near as possible to the raw material base? Would it not be better, rather than uprooting families, to bring work "to the people"?

Cut Urged in 'Unwieldy' Reports System

PM0303105589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Mar 89 Second Edition p 2

["Letter To PRAVDA" from M. Sirayev, chief of the Tatar ASSR Statistical Administration: "Form Worshipers"]

[Text] Kazan—We have now realized that it is easy to count how much grain has been harvested, how many KamAZ trucks have been produced, and how many machines installed: That is not the half of our business, but only the beginning. In the age of economic accountability statistics should be an active force that not only registers but also investigates the situation in depth.

Our administration has reduced the time frame for submitting information and restructured the structure and substance of monthly reports on the results of plan fulfillment. We must take socioeconomic problems into account in analytical material.

But we are still powerless to answer many questions. Such as the following, for instance: Why do particular negative phenomena arise in the economy and in society? Where are the reserves for growth hidden? How can we resolve social problems in towns and in the countryside more speedily? We also suffer from inaccurate assessments of the changes being observed.

This is happening because our statistics are slow to master new methods of gathering, processing, and analyzing information—using automated data banks and automated work stations for economists. Our collectives are greatly in need of professional personal computers but obtain a scant supply of these machines. While implementing retooling more actively, we must think about creating a ramified system of communications with rayon (city) statistics departments and enterprises. The USSR Ministry of Communications and the USSR State Committee for Computer Technology and Information Science are encroaching on our services.

We must work persistently to streamline accounting and ensure its veracity. Changes are taking place here. Many sectors' statistical services have revised virtually from scratch the entire statistics system and the principle of organizing both the reports themselves and the flow of information. Intersectoral accounting for 1989 has been somewhat simplified. The volume of statistical reporting for agriculture has been halved.

Nonetheless I believe that in connection with the broadening of enterprises' independence and the change in the role of ministries and departments in managing sectors it has become necessary to dispense with sending a number of report forms to high-ranking organizations. It is more advisable to present data on the work of industry straight to the USSR and RSFSR State Committees for Statistics, work on it there, and then send it on to ministries and departments. This approach eliminates parallelism and cases where reports presented to ministries and local state statistics organs diverge, and it will streamline the flow of information.

It is also time to put an end to the duplication of reports at state statistics organs and the State Agro-Industrial Committee. Take the annual reports from kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and interfarm enterprises. Our administration spends approximately R15,000 per year on gathering and processing the results of their work. The Tatar ASSR State Agro-Industrial Committee system also spends the same amount on these purposes.

Despite the considerable reduction in the state reporting system, it is still unwieldy. Especially, up-to-the-minute reporting. The industrial reporting system for non-commodity indicators is clearly inflated. Thus, the first (routine) report for 1988 provided for 10 indicators more than the previous one.

It is time not only to simplify report forms but also bring their substance into line with new methods of economic activity. Many of my colleagues are making proposals on this score. They reckon that industrial reporting should be more concrete, with a system of valuation indicators. In the agro-industrial complex, where the team and lease contracts are widespread, we could totally abandon short-term returns and take into account the end results of activity alone (volume of output, yield, income, and labor remuneration). In capital construction a number of forms can be switched from monthly to quarterly reporting. It makes sense to leave data that mainly relates to the fulfillment of the plan in terms of basic indicators in routine reports.

Statistics for material resources today keep count of uninstalled equipment in four forms. You may ask how can this be done in conditions of full economic accountability? Because enterprises themselves are interested in making effective use of their resources.

It is well known that illegal reporting is a breeding ground for bureaucrats. It is far harder for them to make an in-depth study of the state of affairs than to command subordinates to collect figures. So they generate unnecessary documents, generally in the shape of addenda to explanatory notes on annual reports. Last year, for instance, 11 forms of additional reports were sanctioned for subdepartmental trusts at the "Tatstroy" Territorial Construction Association and more than 3,000 man-days were spent on compiling these reports. The paper merry-go-round cost R170,000. This year nine forms of illegal reporting have been detected and abolished at the "Kazankhimstroy" Trust. Approximately 36,000 indicators figured in the vast "webs."

As of 1 January 1989 USSR State Committee For Statistics organizations have transferred to full economic accountability. We will mainly work on fulfilling orders, but we will also increase the volume of paid statistical

information services in the form of press releases, articles in books of statistics, and other publications. This will reduce the level of illegal reporting.

But I think that those who love forms will cling to their traditions for a long time. How can we combat administrative self will? I reckon that we must deduct the same amount of money from the wages of administrators who establish illegal reporting as a particular collective wastes in expenditure linked with gathering and dispatching the superfluous information. Economic accountability must be complete.

State Loan Repayment Timetable Explained

PM0303162589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5

[V. Senchagov, USSR deputy minister of finance, response to reader's query: "Present Bonds"; first paragraph is reader's query; second paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] During and after the war everyone worked tirelessly. At that time wages were very low and pensions, naturally, were small—R40-50. Despite this, everyone without exception subscribed to bonds. Now we are waiting for them to be redeemed. I have heard that the repayments have been deferred for a long time. Is that true? Ye. Kuvarzina, Chebarkul, Chelyabinsk Oblast

V. Senchagov, USSR deputy minister of finance, answered this question at the request of the editorial office:

[Senchagov] State loans as a form of enlisting the population's monetary funds played a large role in forming the financial resources that were acutely necessary for restoring and developing the country's war-ravaged economy and made it possible to resolve many questions dealing with enhancing Soviet people's prosperity and standard of living.

As of 1947 bonds of 11 loans were floated among the population; the state debt on these amounted to R25.8 billion in 1957.

In the late fifties the party and government submitted to broad discussion measures to stop the issue of new bonds and grant the state an extension for repayment of previously issued loans. In the course of nationwide discussion these proposals met with working people's complete understanding and support, and on that basis the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers adopted the resolution of 19 April 1957 stopping profits being drawn on the loans issued and deferring their redemption until 1977, in order to complete the process in 1996.

In accordance with the well-known decision of the 24th CPSU Congress, the state set about cancelling the debt on the aforementioned loans 3 years ahead of the time announced, and it was planned to finish this in 1990. However, it can now be pointed out that this decision did not take into account the real situation with the state's financial resources; this was graphically manifested in the difficulties that arose in fulfilling the congress' planned program. At the 11th session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation, which ratified the Law on the State Plan for Economic and Social Development and the State Budget for 1989, it was pointed out that the state had a considerable negative balance of payments and its deficit for this year was found to be R35 billion. Under these conditions the state found it possible to redeem a considerable proportion of its liabilities from the population, amounting to R16.3 billion, but it has not possible to completely fulfill the program envisaged by the 24th Congress for the redemption of the mass loan bonds.

The State Plan For the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990 envisaged continuing redemption of the loans floated by public subscription among the population whereby bonds relating to the state loan for the development of the USSR's economy (issued in 1953) will be fully redeemed this year. Loan bonds issued in 1954-1956 will be redeemed in the future at times set by the government as the requisite material and financial resources are accumulated.

Local Restrictions Placed on Uzbek Cooperatives

PM0203165589 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 18 Feb 89 p 2

[Unattributed report: "At the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] The Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers has, in execution of the USSR Council of Ministers Resolution of 29 December 1988, adopted a resolution "On the Regulation of Certain Kinds of Activity by Cooperatives in Conformity with the 'USSR Law on the Cooperative System in the USSR.'" The resolution lays down that, in addition to the kinds of activity indicated in the USSR Council of Ministers resolution, cooperatives are not entitled to engage in the following on the territory of the Uzbek SSR:

public catering involving the preparation of shashlik without their own material base for raising and fattening livestock, poultry, and so forth;

the buying up and sale of goods (except for the consumer cooperative system) produced by state enterprises or purchased abroad;

the manufacture and sale of items made from the skins of valuable species of animals obtained by hunting which are subject to compulsory surrender to the state or which do not bear a state label (stamp), or from the skins of fur-bearing carnivorous animals which are forbidden for citizens to keep;

the manufacture and sale of yashmaks and veils.

Cooperatives, moreover, may engage in forms of activity only on the basis of contracts concluded with enterprises, organizations, and establishments for which the following kinds of activity are basic:

the manufacture and sale of confectionery and oriental sweetmeats;

the execution and sale of expensive (in excess of R1,000) monuments, sculpture, and works of art commissioned by enterprises and organizations;

the design, repair, assembly, adjustment, and technical servicing of automatic fire-fighting equipment and protection, fire, and fire-protection alarm systems.

Additionally, agricultural produce procured by intermediary trade cooperatives is primarily to be be vended (sold) in the enterprises (organizations) under which they have been set up. The export of excess agricultural produce by intermediary trade cooperatives of other republics is to be carried out on the basis of contracts with the cooperatives, Gosagroprom farms, and consumer cooperative system of the relevant republics.

The schedule for the purchase and sale to trade purchasing cooperatives of agricultural produce (according to type) is determined at local level by decisions of the Karakalpak ASSR Council of Ministers and oblispolkoms.

Joint-Stock Enterprise Threatened by Resolution

PM0603105189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Mar 89 Second Edition p 1

[Own correspondent V. Ryzhkov report: "Shareholding...Dead End"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Karaganda—Nobody here foresaw this turn of events. Workers went to the accountant's offices at the "Karagandapromstroy" Joint-Stock Trust and demanded back the money they had paid for their securities. "There's no advantage in being shareholders," they stated and immediately transferred their money to the nearest savings bank. Just what happened to Central Kazakhstan's first joint-stock enterprise? The story is told by PRAVDA correspondent V. Ryzhkov.

It was set up quite recently—last September. And there was a great deal of talk about it in Karaganda. The order from the Kazakh SSR Ministry of Construction read: "A state joint-stock trust is to be set up on the basis of the 'Karagandapromstroy' Trust." It went on: "The trust's work is to be organized in accordance with provisions and statutes." These were compiled and ratified at the labor collective council. Everyone voted for the new idea without hesitation. There was no longer any need to secure bank loans and pay high interest for them.

Shareholders were guaranteed no less than 6 percent of annual profits and grants to build cooperative apartments and individual houses. Moreover, it was decided to sell shares to teachers at the kindergarten, to lecturers at the trust-sponsored base vocational and technical college, and to related enterprises.

In short, the shareholder funds grew rapidly. In the first 4 months they passed the R1 million mark. More than 600 people became shareholders. They could see that their money was being put straight to work. New excavators and bulldozers appeared at construction sites....

"Moreover, total interest paid to the bank for providing loans has fallen almost three times," Ye. Raimov, trust deputy manager, said. "We don't have to ask the ministry for permission to buy things, as we used to...."

So, things seem to be going very well for the shareholders.

"They were going very well," Trust Chief Accountant V. Yarema corrected me. "Stoppages began after the publication of the recent USSR Council of Ministers resolution on the issue of securities by enterprises and organizations."

It so happens that previously the trust was a kind of "imposter." As I. Kitaygorodskiy, chief of the USSR Ministry of Finance Political Department, explained in the press, share-issuing by enterprises is a way of attracting investment and does not alter an enterprise's status.... In practice it turns out that the trust should not be called a joint-stock trust.

"Well, who cares about the name," the trust's chief accountant continued. "There are many other restrictions in the resolution. For instance, we are not entitled to use any unutilized savings during the year from the integrated wages fund to keep average wages ahead of labor productivity. And this also restricts payments of profits to shareholders...."

While some shareholders were willing to put up with this aspect of the document, being aware of the difficult financial situation in the country, certain other aspects of the document created confusion. For instance, shareholders are obliged to pay a high rate of income tax even on their artificially reduced dividends. Moreover, there is the tax on childless couples and there are trade union, Komsomol, and party dues. It all adds up to a fair sum.... Sometimes even more than people's income.

In order to make ends meet somehow, the labor collective council made concessions. In order to cover part of the income tax it was decided to pay out 7 percent rather than 6 percent in dividends. But even this step did not eliminate all the problems. The trust shareholders included people linked with the enterprise in differing degrees. For instance, the best practical students at the base vocational and technical college, and foremen.

After all, if people have put their own time and money into a job, their attitude toward it will be different. On this point the resolution states: Shares may only be distributed to individuals via membership of their collective. However, here, too, there was a catch. For instance, there was simply no advantage in pensioners working at the trust buying shares, even though they were allowed to....

"Dividends are part of my total wages, and those wages have an upper earnings limit for pensioners," M. Shepelev, the trust's oldest worker, explained.

"In short, our recent initiative adopted by the labor collective council has been a dead loss," V. Yarema said in distress. "Of course, the USSR Council of Ministers resolution clarified many points, but certain aspects of it were simply dead ends. This isn't just my personal opinion. Today there are five state joint-stock enterprises operational within the Gosstroy system, and they all have the same problems."

If things go any further, shares will become valueless instead of being valuable securities. Then they will be of interest purely to collectors of curios from the era of.... restructuring. One feels that central economic management organs should take another look at share problems before it is too late.

Scientific

'Progress-40' Cargo Spacecraft Ends Flight

LD0503073289 Moscow TASS in English 0720 GMT 5 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 5 TASS—The Soviet automatic cargo craft "Progress-40", which entered the near-earth orbit on February 10, 1989, has ended its flight.

Following the commands from the flight control centre, the cargo craft's propulsion system was switched on at 4:08 a.m. Moscow time [0108 GMT] on Sunday. The decelerating craft changed over to the descent path, entered the dense atmospheric layers and stopped existence.

Alexander Volkov, Sergey Krikalev and Valeriy Polyakov continue their space flight.

Sunday will be the day-off for the crew.

All the three cosmonauts are feeling well. The flight of the manned station Mir is proceeding normally.

Space Official Interviewed on Future of 'Mir'

LD0503145589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 Gmt 5 Mar 89

[Interview with Viktor Blagov, deputy head of the "Mir" mission, by "our correspondent"; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Viktor Dmitriyevich, what prospects await the "Mir" station? What lies ahead?

[Blagov] It has already done 3 years of work and I think that for another 4 years or so it will not simply exist in orbit but will in fact be providing scientific material. During that time we expect to see the arrival of another three modules in addition to the module that will arrive this year. With the arrival of every module the effectiveness of the station will be increased very strongly because the modules will deliver special scientific apparatus. The "T" module, for example—the technological module, as we call it—will be packed with special furnaces for obtaining alloys and for growing crystals. We have already carried out a great deal of work of this kind on portable installations. We have experienced a large number of critical comments and failures, like any scientific quest. But today at last we can say that the methodology for this kind of work is ready. It is possible to embark on the manufacture of industrial installations. These industrial installations are now coming out and when it arrives at the station the technological module will begin working as a micro-factory producing alloys and crystals.

[Correspondent] Viktor Dmitriyevich, the second and the third expeditions—the main ones that have been on the orbital station—were of long duration, 326 days and then 1 year. The present crew is returning in April. That will have been about 6 months. How long will the subsequent expeditions be?

[Blagov] A further three expeditions will be of similar duration—about 6 months or exactly 6 months—and there is a reason for this: Very simply the most expedient flight duration for an expedition is between 4 and 6 months, when the crew's productivity is sufficiently high. Afterward, fatigue builds up and the efficiency of work falls off somewhat. If you are simply talking about a pragmatic approach of that kind to the crew's performance then you should not have long flights—we should not have flights lasting longer than, say, 4 to 6 months. The crew has to be changed. From time to time, however, it will no doubt be necessary to carry out lengthy expeditions, too, insofar as today people are talking more and more frequently about starting preparations for a manned expedition to Mars. The people who fly to Mars and come back will need to spend about 2 years either in weightlessness or under artificial gravity. That question is still not yet clear now and it must be cleared up somehow. No doubt more than one crew will have to try this for 2 years—perhaps three, perhaps four or five

crews—in order to build up some statistics. Long duration flights are necessary in this sense, while working flights will clearly be of 6 months.

[Correspondent] Thank you.

Military

General Gromov Interviewed About Afghanistan

OW0603091089 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1015 GMT 3 Mar 89

["Afghanistan in My Destiny," an interview with Lieutenant General Boris Vsevolodovich Gromov, former commander of Soviet troops in Afghanistan; Gromov shown in military uniform in studio with two regular correspondents from the "View" program; date and place not given —recorded]

[Text] [Unidentified narrator] The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan was concluded in the middle of February. We are talking with Boris Vsevolodovich Gromov, who only a few weeks ago was commander of the limited contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan and is now commander of the Kiev Military District. [Video shows An-22 in flight, cuts to studio interview]

[First correspondent] Where were you on 27 December 1979?

[Gromov] On 27 December I was in the North Caucasus Military District. I went to Afghanistan 29 days later.

[Second correspondent] And when did you realize that it was a war?

[Gromov] Probably in March 1980, yes in March.

[First correspondent] And why March, precisely?

[Gromov] Because in March a planned—let us put it that way—application of firepower was begun against our troops. In other words, major losses began in March 1980. There were losses already in January, but they were not on a scale that one could consider to be the result of a response by the insurgents to the introduction of troops. Real, large-scale losses began in March. Now this war had no front or rear and was a war that was waged primarily against irreconcilable gangs that were located in heavily fortified and remote mountain areas. In other words, there was a specific character to this war.

[Second correspondent] For a long time, particularly during the first stage of combat activities in Afghanistan, our television and press gave various routine accounts about our troops planting trees, about people meeting them with flowers, and only a little information leaked out about the fact that coffins were returning from there. Now what did you feel when you were a soldier in a nonexistent war?

[Gromov] You know, not only I but everybody felt resentment, great resentment as a matter of fact. The resentment was felt in a purely human way, because we were carrying out a difficult job. It was a difficult job in the beginning, I mean during 1980, 1981, 1982, although it was difficult later, too, but particularly at the beginning because it was a new job for us and therefore it was twice as difficult.

[Second correspondent] From what I have heard from people who were there, a particular fraternity existed over there between soldiers and officers that went beyond purely formal bounds.

[Gromov] You know, when a superior has something to do with a subordinate, or maybe the other way around, in normal life, that is, outside of combat, there always exists a kind of subconscious opinion or impression that maybe I am seeing him for the last time. This is particularly true—and I am judging by my own experience—when one talks with a subordinate. So somewhat subconsciously, maybe, and without noticing it, one tries to somehow preserve him or do more good. You understand that the situation over there in this regard was quite different.

[Second correspondent] Service in Afghanistan was usually for 2 years.

[Gromov] Yes.

[Second correspondent] But you went for a second and third time. Why?

[Gromov] Afghanistan was like a magnet. You have met the young Afghan veterans who were here, and they apparently told you about this. One is drawn to Afghanistan because there is a kind of completely different situation there as far as mutual relations are concerned. Besides, when you leave it you feel, on the one hand, that you have left something dear to you behind, and on the other you feel as if you have run away—although I hope I am forgiven for using these words. In other words, you want to return, regardless, in order to help in some way with your experience, primarily help cut the losses.

[First correspondent] As a person, how did you feel when you had to send some detachment—living humans—to their certain destruction for some important strategic purpose?

[Gromov] It is a difficult question, insofar as we are talking about people's lives. We did not send people to a certain death. There was no such occasion when we sent people to their certain death.

[First correspondent] But it was a war.

[Gromov] What I am saying is that we did not plan combat actions whose results were clearly known to us to have a final and irrevocable outcome, the death of our people.

[Second correspondent] Another painful question is about the fate of our prisoners of war. How many of them are there and how will this question be solved?

[Gromov] The fate of our prisoners of war is, indeed, a burning question. Now I think we have lived to see the date or the threshold the opposition spoke about, that is, the withdrawal of Soviet troops, take place. The conditions that they set in this regard, if I can put it that way, have been fulfilled by us. They told us directly that as soon as Soviet troops are withdrawn we will begin considering the issue of returning the prisoners of war. But you know, and your program has several times discussed this, that the work of returning the prisoners is being carried out. We also worked to achieve this goal while over there. In the past 2 months alone we achieved the return of four people there. I think that more and more of our young men will return with every passing day.

[Second correspondent] The people you had under your command there are now being called children who fought of fathers who did not fight. They are now returning home. What in your opinion is the most important thing from the point of view of adapting to life here?

[Gromov] You know, I would put it this way, that in my opinion it is very important not to retreat into oneself but to somehow more actively participate in life, to put it simply. I understand, and I judge from my own experience, and many who have returned from over there know, that at a certain point a person may experience a certain emptiness, which apparently follows such a hard job or difficult task. This period must be overcome as quickly as possible.

[Second correspondent] What qualities underlie the words Afghan veteran?

[Gromov] I think first of all honesty, nobility, and love for people. Not just towards a friend or comrade, but generally love towards people. This foremost. Of course there is also another important quality which is the ability to do more than you can, more than your strength allows. [Video cuts to show young servicemen filing past camera with transport aircraft seen in the distance]

[Unidentified narrator] Children who fought of fathers who did not fight. Although it may sound strange, many of them have yet to become accustomed to peaceful life, a life without war. The troops have been withdrawn, but this does not mean that all the problems of those who fought in Afghanistan have been solved. The "View program" will continue to keep the topic of Afghan veterans at the center of its attention. [Video cuts back to show Gromov being interviewed in a studio]

[First correspondent] Do you have any children?

[Gromov] Yes I do.

[First correspondent] How old are they?

[Gromov] My eldest son Maksim, the one who met me on the bridge in Termez, is 15 years old; the younger one, Andrey, is 9.

[First correspondent] Another question. Even when engaged in the most difficult of tasks, a person always experiences an inner requirement to somehow detach himself from it all, which even helps him get on with the job in hand. Although of course you obviously did not have enough time to have an outside interest, nevertheless, did you have some kind of hobby?

[Gromov] Well, call it a hobby or not, but I do enjoy sports. I like to watch ballet, unfortunately this happens very rarely. Maybe it will become possible now. Naturally, I like to read when I have the opportunity, although in Afghanistan this was extremely rare. I also enjoy watching the "View program." [Laughter].

[First correspondent] If your son were older, would you have wanted him to go through the same school?

[Gromov] Yes, I would want him to go through a serious school, a school of courage. But perhaps I would not want him to go through the same experiences as I have.

[Second correspondent] Have you ever personally met with captured representatives of the opposition? Who are these people?

[Gromov] These people are fanatics, but I have an unambiguous impression that only money prevails in all their approaches, including the political problem.

[First correspondent] One of the persistent rumors I happened to hear from many people and for many years is that Afghan military commanders underwent military training there, as early as in the prerevolutionary days, and then they became commanders of some of the gangs. Is this true?

[Gromov] Yes, unfortunately such cases took place.

[First correspondent] Did this complicate your work? I mean from the point of view that they knew the strategy and tactics of our Armed Forces?

[Gromov] Not really. After all, neither strategy or tactics are inviolable. In fact, perhaps this made things even easier for us.

[First correspondent] It was easier to second-guess them?

[Gromov] Yes, of course. We knew of these people. Admittedly, there were not that many of them. But there were some.

[Second correspondent] Since we have withdrawn from the country, will the Afghan army be capable of defending it?

[Gromov] They, in any case, must defend their country and all those ... [he does not complete the sentence] The Afghan Army has received everything that was needed, and had everything before. The main thing is that during the 9 odd years—during the 9 years and 2 months, to be more precise, the Afghan Army grew qualitatively, from the point of view of readiness for battle operations, independent operations. The recent events, after 15 May when the first stage of the Soviet troop withdrawal began, showed good examples of the predominance of the Afghan Army.

[Second correspondent] What is its numerical strength presently?

[Gromov] Comrade President Najibullah recently reported the figure for the numerical strength of the Armed Forces. It is sufficient, of the order of 300,000; this is not for the Army, but for the Armed Forces. Even numerically, the Armed Forces of the Afghan Republic have the upper hand. I think that they are capable of defending, should they have the wish to do so, and there are a number of other factors.

[Second correspondent] What were your feelings in the last few seconds on Afghan soil and on the bridge?

[Gromov] There were many mixed feelings. First and foremost, the feeling of happiness, happiness that we had completed the withdrawal, a very difficult withdrawal. Not from the point of view of action taken by the opposition, but rather due to the weather conditions. The happiness was boundless. There was no one left behind me. I was the last one, though in Afghanistan the phrase—last one—is not used. There was such a superstition. On the bridge I fully realized and felt joy for being the last one out, knowing that no one who made up the limited troop contingent was left behind. On the other hand, there was a sense of bitterness. At the risk of sounding trite, there were tears in my eyes. [Program ends with file shots of Soviet troops withdrawing from Afghanistan]

Northern Group of Forces' Titov Gives Speech

AU0303173289 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 23 Feb 89 p 5

[Speech by Lieutenant General Igor Titov, chief of the Political Directorate of the Northern Group of Forces, at a gala concert to mark the 71st anniversary of the formation of the Soviet Armed Forces given in Warsaw on 22 February]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The process of socialist renewal in the Polish People's Republic [PPR] is gaining momentum. Neither the Soviet Union nor socialist Poland, which have enormous tasks to accomplish, need war. Basing their conduct on the principles of new political thinking and the defense doctrine of the Warsaw Pact member states, our fraternal countries and parties are doing everything possible to preserve and maintain peace on the continent of Europe and in the entire world. In the wake of the attainment of the Soviet-American agreement on the elimination of whole classes of nuclear weapons, the CPSU and the Soviet government have taken radical steps in the fields of further stabilizing the situation in the world and increasing confidence between peoples.

An important move in this direction is the withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet forces in Afghanistan. Another decision of enormous political and military significance made by the Soviet Union is that of reducing the strength of the USSR Armed Forces by 500,000 men, instituting significant cutbacks in the number of tanks and conventional weapons in central Europe, and reorganizing tactical and other units in line with the defensive character of Soviet military doctrine.

Within the framework of these decisions and in agreement with the PPR Government, a series of tactical and other units that are part of the Northern Group of Forces will be withdrawn.

The PPR and the other socialist countries have launched important initiatives that involve a tangible reduction in strength.

Our states, which are loyal to the ideals and principles of Leninist peace policy, are realizing the dreams of peoples and are marching with a firm step in the vanguard of the struggle for peace and security.

However, a realistic analysis of the development of the political and military situation in the world indicates that this is still no time for complacency.

Under complex international conditions that are full of contradictions, the USSR Armed Forces are maintaining constant combat readiness, displaying a high level of political vigilance, and discharging their patriotic and internationalist duties along with the armies of the Warsaw Pact states.

On the soil of fraternal Poland, the troops of the Northern Group of Forces are performing their honorable and responsible duty side by side with Polish soldiers. The friendship and comradeship-in-arms between units of our Northern Group of Forces and the Polish People's Armed Forces have been raised to a qualitatively new level and have assumed new dimensions and substance. [passage omitted]

Yazov, Lizichev Brief Reporters on Restructuring

PM0303161389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Mar 89 First Edition p 2

[Own correspondent report: "On Army Service"; date not given]

[Text] A meeting has been held in the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting with Army General D. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister; and Army General A. Lizichev, chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy. Journalists were briefed on progress in restructuring in the Army and Navy, the main thrust of which is to fulfill the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference directives on ensuring the priority of qualitative parameters in defense building. The meeting touched on matters connected with the practical implementation of our defensive military doctrine and the forthcoming reduction in the Armed Forces. The combat and political training of servicemen, the activity of political bodies and party and Komsomol organizations, various aspects of life in multiethnic military collectives, and shortcomings in training, service, and discipline were also discussed.

It was stressed that our Army is the Army of the people. It is an inalienable part of the people, lives the same life, and has the same concerns and interests.

Opinions were exchanged on ways to improve young people's heroic-patriotic education and the coverage of Army and Navy life by television and radio.

Yazov Addresses Conference on Military Press

PM0603104189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Mar 89 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Conference Held"]

[Text] The press is rightly described as the tribune of restructuring, democracy, and glasnost. This description naturally also fully applies to the military press. It has an important role to play in restructuring the USSR Armed Forces and implementing the party line of ensuring the effectiveness of military building in terms of qualitative parameters while unswervingly observing the principle of sensible defense sufficiency. This was stated at the All-Army Conference of Leaders of Military Press Organs held in Moscow on 3 March.

The conference was addressed by the following: Army General D. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense Minister; Army General A. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; and Lieutenant General G. Stefanovskiy, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate.

A detailed account of the conference will be published.

Lushev Shares Concerns on Patriotic Education

PM0603100789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Mar 89 First Edition p 1

[Report by Colonel O. Sholmov: "Meeting in the Pomorye"; date not given]

[Text] A meeting has been held in Arkhangelsk between USSR candidate people's deputies—Army General P. Lushev, hero of the Soviet Union, member of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR first deputy defense minister, and commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces; and internationalist serviceman N. Shamin, leader of Tomsk City's "Respublika Bodrykh" Military-Patriotic Youth Club—and voters and DOSAAF organization aktiv members from the Karelian and Komi ASSR's and Arkhangelsk, Vologda, and Leningrad Oblasts.

The candidate deputies expounded their election programs and answered numerous questions from the meeting's participants. The provisions of Army General Lushev's program on the need to enhance Soviet people's military-patriotic education and prepare young people for Army service aroused particular interest among voters. Recently, the candidate deputy observed, we have had to contend with a negative attitude to this problem. I would like to caution against ill-considered assessments and actions.

There was avid, committed discussion of problems concerning the restructuring of DOSAAF activity during the meeting, and a draft mandate for the people's deputies was discussed and adopted.

'Practical Course' of Defense Doctrine Cited

LD0603091689 Moscow TASS in English 0850 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 6 TASS—"Unilateral reduction of Armed Forces, announced by the USSR, goes to show that the defensive military doctrine and perestroyka in the Army are not mere declarations, as claimed in the West, but a practical course steered by the USSR and its allies," Alexey Arbatov, head of a department at the Institute of World Economics and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences, writes in the latest issue of the magazine "INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS".

It is clear at the same time, the author continues, that we are yet at the very start of a long and difficult road of revising our doctrine, strategy, operational plans, quantitative levels and structure of the Armed Forces, their deployment and training, revising our program of modernizing armaments and combat equipment. Perestroyka

in the Armed Forces means, above all, a restructuring of the entire mechanism of shaping and carrying out the military policy and military construction.

"Perestroyka in this domain must, apparently, restore the organic unity, optimal correlation of the Soviet military potential with the country's economic possibilities and foreign policy interests," Alexey Arbatov believes. "The USSR is already carrying out a deep-going reform both in economy and in foreign policy. Military policy should not hamper these processes, but contribute to them actively. It stands to reason that the country's defense capacity should not be impaired in the process".

The new approach to security warrants the admission that large numbers of missiles, warplanes, tanks and other armaments do not necessarily ensure greater defense capacity. "Realistic, even if more limited strategic goals and operational plans, optimally correlated to which will be smaller, but effective and well-equipped armed forces, are capable of guaranteeing much more dependable defenses", the Soviet scientist stresses.

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